







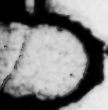
Εγκωμιαστικὸν καὶ εὐχαρικόν.

A Copy of Verses made for,
and presented to the City of
Gloucester.

*When Civil broyles through Englands fields spread
And Regall Power oppos'd the Popular; (far;
This famous City then unconquer'd stood:
And was the Ramoth-Gilead of the good.
It was a Refuge for poor Christians, when
This Land was over-runne by blondy men;
The Noahs-Ark where shelter sweet was found
For males and females, when Mars ran the
(round.*

*Let this fair City long and long encrease,
With incorrupted truth, health, wealth and peace;
Let the unslumbering God for ever dwell,
And here (with waking Eyes) stand sentinell,
To keep this place: and ever govern here
Till Phœbus quite forsakes this Hemi-sphære.
And let our people ever thankfull be,
To the great God of our felicitie.*

By SAM. KENRICK one of the
Ministers of the said City.



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CERTAIN
SPEECHES

Made upon the day of the Yearly
Election of OFFICERS
in the City of
Gloucester.

Being in the Charter-Language of
the said City, *Die Luna prox' post
Festum S. Michaelis Archangeli.*

By *John Dorney, Esq.*
Town-Clerke of the said City.

Ovid. de Ponto.

*Turpe referre pedem, nec passus stare tenaci,
Turpe laborantem deseruisse ratem.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *A. M.* for *Tho. Underhill* at the
Anchor and Bible in *Pauls Church-*
yard, MDCLIII.



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To the Right Worshipfull
William Capell Esquire,
Maior of the City of Gloucester,
the Worshipfull Aldermen his
Brethren, and the rest of the Com-
mon Councell of the said City.

Honoured Gentlemen,

Some Reasons having been
prevalent Motives with me
now to expose that to open
view, which at several times
was by me publiquely delivered in your
City; and considering what relations
both the matter and my self have to
you (the Representative thereof) I
held my self obliged to present the same
unto you, to whom it doth most properly
belong. And I do entreat your favour-
able Acceptance thereof, desiring that
it

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*it may not only serve you as your Remem-
brancer, but that it may serve me also
as a pledge of my gratitude for the many
favours which I have received from
you, to whom I do professedly acknow-
ledge myself to remain,*

Your Devoted Servant,

JO. DORNEY.



SPEECHES

Upon the Daies of Elections of Civil Officers in the City of *Gloucester*, during the late Civil War, and since.

Dionisio Wise Arm' Majore.



It hath been a Custome (Worthy *Octob. 2.*
Citizens) upon such *Solemnities* *Ao 1643.*
to make some Narration of the
Antiquity and Honour of your
City; But leaving that to better
Antiquaries, I hope it will suffice
to tell you rather what your City is at present,
then what it hath been in times past; yea, it
might suffice, considering the present state of
things abroad, to tell you what your City is now
as well as what it is: for howsoever I speak, it
will be, it must be *In honorem Gloucestriae*, to the
honour of *Gloucester*. Your City is as it was,
B many

Dionisio Wise Arm' Majore.

many others have known sad changes ; but as you heard lately in a sacred Assembly, *Gloucester* is *Gloucester* ; others the objects of pity, whilst yours of envy.

Your *City* is more then it was, more in desert therefore more in renown.

Your *City* is a free *City* , so free from *Popery*, and so free from *tyranny*, that your consciences are not enforced to be *ensnared* by the one, nor yet your persons to be *enslaved* by the other. There is such a *purity* in your sacred services, that you may say They are gods. There is such a *property* in your estates, that you may say They are your own.

Your *City* is a famous *City*, famous for fidelity, and famous for constancy in the cause of God and of the Common-wealth.

Yea, your *City* is a blessed *City*, a *Domino Benedicta*, the blessed of the Lord. He was in the midst of it, when the enemies besieged it ; he fought for you when they fought against you ; He in his great mercy preserved you from their great fury, and for it *Benedictus sit Dominus*, Let the Lord be blessed. When your passages were stoppt on earth, there remained a way open to heaven, to use the sweet expression of one of your *Divines*. And though your persons were denied earthly visits, yet faithfull prayers made by you and for you, had access and audience above, and the most High did visit you in your *low estate* : When you were threatned, he encouraged you ; assaulted, he defended you ; and though you were straightned he enlarged you. Whilst your enemies were near you, your God was with you, and therefore they prevailed not over you. He brought you

Mr Hal-
ford.

you means of deliverance from afar, even from the *Metropolis*, the mother City (he reward her for it) and thereby the Enemies removed that were so near, so near to your gates, so near to the accomplishment of their designs. And thus were you delivered, yea, thus were you honoured, which being premised each of you may with Saint Paul say, ἐγὼ οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι πόλεως πολίτης, I am a Citizen of no mean or obscure City. But you shall no longer retain your glory and fame, then you enjoy your God, nor can you longer enjoy your God then you endeavour to maintain his glory, who hath made you so glorious in the eyes of all well affected to Religion, and the King and Kingdom. It is reported of the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* that they fettered and chained their gods, that they might not depart from them; but your Divines will tell you, that the way to keep your God is to depart from evil and to do good, then may you expect that he that hath kept you, and delivered you, will continue to be your keeper and deliverer. God kept and delivered you, *Et soli Deo Gloria*, Let him alone have the praise, as the efficient cause, and principall authour of your preservation and deliverance, yet let the instruments employed therein be acknowledged in the second place. And as I wish the Governour and the martiall Officers may have their due honour, and the Ministers for their good praiers, and encouragements in hortatory and consolatory speeches their esteem; so let none deny the *Maier* and *City-Officers* their commendation.

As for M. *Maier* so transcendent hath his care and pains been for the welfare of this City, and

The City of
London
sent five
Regiments
of the Train
ned Bands
and Aux-
iliaries.
Acts 21.
39.

Dionisio Wise Arm' Majore.

therein of the Kingdom, that he deserves the *superlative degree*, and not only to be called *Majore*, but *Maximus*. He was a Captain as well as a Maior, a sword-man as well as a gown-man; and how well he performed both places civill and martiall for the publike good I need not tell you, his *works* will praise him. His couragious resolution, unwearied diligence, untired patience, care in providing, prudence and integrity in managing, piety towards God, and equity towards man, mercy to the poor, and affability to all, are things praise-worthy; especially being crowned with perseverance in a year of temptations. And therefore having done so well and done so *wisely*, if we should imitate the *Gracians*, then he could be honoured with no lesse then a *grand Sophus*, but howsoever let what is wanting in loud acclamations be supplied in true *affections*; and as God hath blessed us by him, so blesse God for him.

As for M. *Coroner* he had little to do with *uteries*, whilest so many lived without law: and for his inquisition *super visum corporis*, he was carefull to take them where he might, the *martiall Law* claiming jurisdiction in some cases: But (as an *Alderman*) he hath also put his helping hand to the keeping of your City, and his purse hath been opened to the maintaining of the Garison.

The *Sheriffs* have had few Causes to judge, or Writs to execute; they have not had the power of their *County*, nor yet of their *Goal*; such is the condition of these times. But they have shewed their zeal to justice in standing for the *Highest Courts* of the Kingdome, in due attendance

dance upon the *chiefest* Magistrate of your City, *The Major.* and in observance of the rest of the Justices. How entirely they have loved each other, how fairly they have *demeaned* themselves to all, and how really they have *performed* what they readily *protested* in their endeavours to promote the common good of the Kingdom, and the particular welfare of this City, you all well know.

As for the *Stewards*, these will tell you of many *arrearages* of Rents; and that their layings out were more then their comings in: yet I beleeve you will say that they are good *husbands*, and I hope you shall finde them *just Stewards*; and that they also can give account of some good service, not only for the *Chamber*, but the *City*; not only for the *City* but the *Kingdom*,

And now these *Gentlemen* having thus acted their parts amongst you, are to leave their Offices to others who are thought by the Electors worthy *to* succeed them; and I beleeve when you have heard their names, you will think so too. Their Names are these, *&c. &c. &c.*

These I hope will endeavour to preserve and maintain the *honour* of this City, and gain *honour* to themselves by the well managing of the publike affairs, which that they may the better do, I wish that as they have the *examples* of their predecessors, so they may have some of their assistance by *councell*; and of you all by *prayers*. And I commend unto them the singular exhortations of the Minister to be repeated by them in their practice.

These are not to be admitted to their Offices as Judges amongst the Jews, by imposition of See the hands upon their heads, but by imposition of *Heb. Anti.* their

their hands upon the Book: Whereby they will not only manifest themselves good Protestants, but also good Subjects to their Sovereign, whom the Almighty guide and guard: And to conclude let us all say, *Vivat Rex & vigeat Lex*, Let the King live, and the Law bear sway.

II. *Nicolao Webb Arm' Majore.*

N^o 1644. **I** Am to declare unto you (*Honoured Citizens*) the names of your new elected Officers: But before I so do, I desire with your leave to speak something concerning *Government*, with a particular reflexion upon this place, something also concerning the *Offices* they are to bear, and the *service* the old Officers have done; lastly concerning this *change* of Officers, and the grounds thereof; All which I intend to dispatch so briefly and truly, that I hope I shall neither offend your *patience*, nor mine own *conscience*.

Government doubtlesse is of God, who is the God of order; and *obedience* to the lawfull commands of lawfull Governours (who are called gods) is due by divine right. But the kindes and forms of government, as *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, the power to be in the Prince, Peers or people, are in Saint *Peters* language (as I take it) ἀνθρωπίνη κρίσις an humane Ordinance; which if it may be affirmed of the generall government of a state, then *a fortiori* of particular corporations. *Government* as it is in it self good, so (being lawfully used) is for good;
yea,

1 Pet. 2.

13.

yes, so necessary to humane society, that without it there would be *disorder*, and thereupon *confusion*; for although the Philosopher calls man ζῷον πολιτικόν a creature fit for society, yet without government what is a society of men but *Bellua multorum Caputum*, a rude multitude? When did *Israel* come nearer to a *Babel*, then when it was said of that state that they had no King, מלך אֵין שָׂרָא their Law was *Quicquid libet licet*, every one did what pleased himself; and our eyes and ears can witness how many and great *disorders* have been in these dissolute times, wherein the reins of government are somewhat slackned. Far be it therefore for any of us to be in opinion or practice against *Magistracy* as inconsistent with *Christian liberty*, and so become κτερότης καταφρονῶντες despisers of government; but considering that government is a *politique predicament* consisting of superiority and inferiority, the parts affording (as in the naturall body) mutuall support each to other, for the good of the whole, let us account it an happiness to live under government, but more especially to be under good governours. And having a particular relation to this City and Garrison, let us blesse him that hath blest us this year last past with such Governours in *Civill* and *Martiall* affairs, as have in some good measure taken care for our souls comfort, and our outward safety and support.

If we of this City and Countrey with a serious consideration look back upon the singular passages and occurrences during their government, we shall finde many arguments of praise, and engagements of obedience to the most high

12

2 Pet. 21
10.

God, the Lord of Hosts ; who hath made us the sons of providence above desert and beyond expectation. For what *provisions* have been made for us ? what *protections* have been afforded to us ? and what *victories* have been obtained by us ? All of them for matter and manner notable, yea admirable ; so much of God hath appeared in all, and so little of man, That God in the first place might have all the glory of wise *contrivance*, and effectuall *performance* : yet by his allowance, yea command there is an honour to be given in the second place, to the instruments that he hath honoured in serving his providence, *τῷ τῆν τιμὴν τῆν τιμὴν*, honour to whom honour belongs. Therefore for their further encouragement, others imitation, and your gratefull commemoration, give me leave to be your *remembrancer* of the vigilancy, valour, and fidelity of your noble Governour and the souldiery ; and of the praise-worthy endeavours and demeanure of M. *Major* and the City-Officers : Concerning the latter, being most proper for this time and place, I desire to present you with a brief Index of their Authority and actions. The government of Commonwealths and Cities hath often had mutations, *pro re nata* upon urgent occasions. Among the Jews we reade of the *Patriarchall*, *judiciary*, *regall*, and *sacerdotall* powers ; and the Romans had manifold kindes of Government, as *Kings*, *Consuls*, *Dictators*, &c. There were sometime in England seven severall crowned Kings, of seven severall and distinct Kingdoms, and in the end the *West Saxons* got the *Monarchy*, and had the imperiall *Diadem* ; and sithence the *Heptarchy*, many hundreds of years the English Government hath continued

continued Monarchicall. During which time as many Corporations have been made, so they have had many changes; This among the rest; But they have been still *mutationes in melius*, by royall munificence, in the augmentation of *priviledges*. In the time of King *John* this was a *Burrough-Town*, and had two *Bailiffs*, and four chief *Burgesses*, the *Bailiffs* in the time of King *Richard the second* were made *Justices of the Peace*, King *Richard the third* made it a *Maior-Town*, and a *County*, with two *Hundreds*, subject to 12. *Aldermen Justices of the Peace*; And the *Bailiffs* of the *Town* to be *Sheriffs* of the *County*. King *Henry the eighth* made it a *City*.

Now the Government of this *City* being established by *Charter*, the authority of our *Justices* is more permanent then if it were by *Commission*, which is determinable by the will and death of the King. The Officers do much resemble those of the ancient *Roman State*, first in generall, The Government being by a *Maior*, *Aldermen*, and *Common Councell*; It may be termed a *Senate*, and the *Maior Princeps Senatus*, having alone amongst our *Duodecemviri* Ensigns of honour carried before him, and power alone to convocate the *Senate*.

But more particularly, The *Maior* as he is the Kings Lieutenant, so he may be termed *urbis praefectus* one set over the *City*: in respect of his examining and judging of matters within the *City*, *Prætor Urbanus*, a *City Prætor*; as Clark of the Market, *Ædilis Cerealis*. As for the good service M. *Maior* did this last year, though by reason of his personall presence I should give the more sparing evidence, yet without any opinion
of

of flattery, I hope I may say thus much, That I presume you will acknowledge that he was the
 Rom. 13.4 *δίακονος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*, the Minister of God for good; for the good of your persons and estates. His actions will tell you his affection to religion and justice, and his opinion of the justnesse of our cause; It is so well known, that I need not tell you what countenance he gave to Ministers, and their Ministry; what favour he shewed to good men and furtherance of good proceedings; what care he took to keep the Courts and to preserve the City: passing by the watches, which he duly provided, let me bring you to the * South gate, which being fallen by the batteries of the late siege, by his care was seasonably rebuilt for strength and ornament.

* This Mot-
 to is upon
 it, A City
 assaulted by
 man and
 saved by
 God.

By Ordinance of
 May 10.
 1st 44.

The Maior
 for the time
 being.

M. Hart.

2 Cor. 3. 6.

M. Tirer.

And let me put you in minde of his religious desire to perpetuate the memoriall of that wonderfull deliverance, not only by Inscriptions but also by annuall Solemnity; yea, further being in the midst of his year and cares made one of the Committee of Parliament for these parts, I beleeve it is well known to most of you, that he had a speciall hand in providing some maintenance for him whom you heard this day, and have heard so often, who is *ἐκκλησιᾶς καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ διάκονος* an able Minister of the New Testament. And also in setting up of lights in divers places abroad, that were in the darknesse of ignorance. And in particular (to the end also the poore might receive the Gospel) in setting a godly and faithfull Minister at S. Maries. Let me adde that conceiving his place (as things stood) to engage him to have above others *Curam animarum* (without institution) he did by his

his providence and at his charge take such course that the *City-Lectures* were supplied. For all which and whatsoever else he hath done for Gods honour and the credit and profit of this City, I desire you may not be ungratefull to God, nor unmindefull of him. As for M. *Coroner*, if you enquire what he hath done; I beleeve he hath *Sans fee* taken many Inquisitions; I wish his successor may not be occasioned to take so many. He had no occasion to give judgement upon Writs of *exigent*. But the sad spectacles he had, especially in the latter part of his year do manifest, that many live without the fear of law though they are not out-lawed. His diligence as *Coroner* in his enquiries *super visum corporis* hath been great; but his trouble and pains as a Captain of the Trained Band, and as *surveyor* of the City works were greater. And although he is now to leave the Office of a *Coroner*, yet I hope the common good will perswade him to continue the other places; albeit the encouragement be so small in respect of private advantage.

Fortifica-
tions.

As for the *Sheriffs* whom some call *Vice-Consules*, I may properly term them *Duumviri Capitales*, in regard of the charge of their prison, and to see Malefactors punished. And albeit there is now a Governour who (being *prator Martialis*) hath made a *Marshalsey* of their prison, yet such care have they taken thereof, as the constitution of the time would permit. And if you consider how they frequented the Church and the Tolsey; how they were brethren as well in affection as office; how observant they were to superiours, and how courteous to others, you may

may all have matter wherefore to commend them, and their Successours wherein to imitate them. As for the Stewards (who are *Quaestores Urbani* or *Ærarij*, because they receive the City moneys, to disburse them upon all occasions of publike expence.) I beleeeve they have not laid aside *Aurum viceffimarium* the twentieth part of their receipts (as they did in their treasury) for these are not times of laying up, but of laying on, and of laying out. Yet I doubt not but their account will render them both frugall and faithfull, perhaps it will speak of arrears more then former accounts, but you need not marvell at it, for it is the language of the time. And to speak of them all *conjunctim*, why may not I call them all *Tribuni Plebis*, Protectors of the Commons? Now there is a change of Officers, as there is a vicissitude of things by the revolution of time. I would not have you think that there is here the same reason as in naturall Philosophy, *Corruptio unius est generatio alterius*, their integrity speaks better for them then so: But as by Charter their authority is granted, so their time is limited. And it is probable that as for the honour and common good of the City, and to avoid popular tumult (as is in the Charter expressed) this annuall election was appointed: for there was a point of policy therein, lest Officers by long continuance might gain an art to deceive or to oppresse.

Yet the Rules of Administration of the Offices remain the same, though the Offices are changed, and are not like the *Prætors Edicts* in Rome, which are termed by Tully, *Lex annua*, a Law for a year.

The

The Persons that are newly chosen are such, whose deportment I hope will commend their choice, so that to the act of Election, there may be prefaced *bonum factum*, a good deed, as it was wont to the Decrees of the *Roman Senate* in two Capitall letters.

The Names of the Gentlemen that are chosen are as followeth, ———

There need not to be an interim betwixt their designation to their severall Offices, and their entrance into them, to enquire *De ambitu*; for they were chosen without suit and competition. Yet first let me say to them, that as they are to go before others in place, so they are also in good example; and as they are greater by Office, so they ought to be greater in care, as well of their own walking, as of their Cities welfare. And as for Mr Maior elect, I cannot commend a better rule unto him, then what I have often heard from him, which is, *to execute Justice, and to maintain Truth*; for which purpose, he is to fortifie himself against temptations, because as Magistrates are *scuta terra*, so, they are *scuta terrea*. And to you all let me say, that as obedience is due to the Kings lawfull Commands *ως υπερχοντι*, as supream; *1 Pet. 2.* so observance is due to these also in their places, *13, 14.* *ως προτιμενοις*, having a derivative power by Charter from the King; to whom they are ready to testifie their *allegiance*, as they have to the Parliament their *fidelity*; and therewithall to perform their respective duties in the government and service of this City: And if you will not take my word for it, you may see them take their oaths.

III. *Lucâ Nourse Armig' Majore.*

O^ctob. 6.
1645.

Gentlemen, By the revolution of time, the year according to our City computation is at an end, although according to other computations it doth continue for divers moneths. For as the Roman *Annals*, were described and distinguished by *Consulships*, so are ours by the *Maioralties* and *Shreivalties* of such and such; so that our years do expire with our Officers authority. As they have their *Commencements*, so they have their *periods* together. Looking back upon the year past, I see it *chequered* with various passages of providence, the particulars thereof being so obvious, I passe over with a silent admiration; and at present rather chuse to acquaint you, that our City Officers are wearied with their long attendance upon their severall imployments, and therefore now expect to be *relieved*: they have long borne the burthens of publike services, and now are desirous to take their ease, and lay them upon other *shoulders*, such *shoulders* as are deemed well able to bear them, and therefore it is hoped the persons will readily and cheerfully undertake them. To facilitate the work, I shall with your leave, and I hope good liking, prescribe some rules and directions for their carriage: to which you will finde the actions of the present Officers in many things to correspond and agree, and therein I shall propose them for examples to their successors: In some things perhaps you may finde them, or some of them, somewhat deficient, but therein I hope your pardon will be *easy*, because

cause their services have been *difficult*; where the businesse is great you know *endeavours* are accepted. There is a *dignity* I must acknowledge in bearing publike Offices, yet there is a *difficulty* also in the right performance of duties, especially concerning *government*; which is called an art of arts, as hard as excellent.

The duties of our Officers are comprised in their oaths they are to take, which do all spring from the same fountain, which is the Kings Charter, where I finde them expressed in the same termes: *i.e.* To execute the Office in all things touching the Office rightly, well and faithfully, and though they are to run in severall *channels*, yet they are to be guided by the streight line of *integrity*, into the ocean of one common end, which is the *publike weale* of this *City* and *County*: which end I hope the severall Officers elected will aym at, and therein I wish they may all meet together in the execution of their Offices. The ayde that I shall at present contribute thereunto, is by glossing upon the severall oaths, to give some brief character of the severall Officers, which each of the Gentlemen elect may be pleased to accept as their respective *directory*, by way of an additionall, or appendix to that seasonable, wholsom and grave covncell given this morning, by him whose person and pains deserve estimation. I wish more had heard his doctrine, such of us as did I wish may make a good use of it. I shall rake them according to their ranks, and begin first with the *Maier*. The *Maier* is the Kings Lieutenant, and therefore to serve his *lawfull power*; I do not, I may not say his *unjust will*. He is to keep the *City* to the behoof of
the

M. Nelme.

the King, alwaies remembring that he is also entrusted with the keeping of the gates by the *Parliament*, where his *power* resides, though his *person* is absent; he is to keep the right of the King, and do the profit of the King; whose Office is also to protect his people, and maintain their just Rights and Liberties. He is in his place to administer Justice; the *rule* thereof is the *Laws*, the *life* of the Laws is *execution* of them, Justice is by him to be administred to all indifferently and seasonably, with wisdom, courage and sincerity. He is the *Head* of the Corporation, set above others, not to insult over them, as if he were above the Laws, but to take care of them by watching for their good, to discover *dangers*, and prevent them; *abuses*, and reform them; *advantages*, and procure them. He is the *City Prator*, and therefore to go before others, and to be exemplary unto others in all Offices of Piety, Justice and humanity. He is *Escheator* of this *City* and *County*, and therein to be subservient to the Court of Wards in the true finding of Offices; the grievances of which Court do much importune the *Parliament* to finde out a true remedy for their redresse. He is *Steward* and *Marshall* of the Kings houshold within this *City* and Liberties; but (as things now stand) what he is to do in that respect more then bearing of the title, I know not. He is *Clerk of the Market*, and therefore to look that the *weights* and *measures* be just, the *assises* of bread and beer moderate; the *flesh* and *fish* wholesome. To conclude, He is (in an eminent respect) to indeavour to preserve and promote the true Religion, together with the peace, the profit, the honour, and health of this *City*.

The

The next Officer is the *Coroner*. He is also an Officer of trust and authority, of whom the Law takes much notice, as being a very usefull instrument in the Commonwealth in divers respects: chiefly in recording Pleas of the Crown, upon the view of the bodies of such as die unnaturall deaths. Life is one of the greatest favourites of the Law; and therefore upon suspicion of untimely deaths, this Officer is to make a timely enquiry, using diligence in embracing the opportunity for his enquiry, and prudence in the examination of the fact and circumstances. But I must tell you he is an Officer of Peace, and a principall conservator thereof, not an Officer of warre. The bodies of those that lose their lives in this civill, (I may say unnaturall) warre, are not to be viewed by him, he is to take no inquest thereupon; but the supream Judge, the God of vengeance, who rides his circuit thorow the world observeth them, and will make inquisition for their blood; which cries aloud against the *authors* and *fomentors* of this destructive war.

The Sheriffs are Officers appointed for the conservation of the peace of the County, and the supportation of the state of the City; and therefore in the said Charter are termed *Bayliffs* of the City and Sheriffs of the County. They are to be employed in Acts judiciall and ministeriall; in the one they are to look to the *cause* more then the *person*, to avoid *partiality*; and in the other, to the *command* more then the *reason*, to avoid *delays*: In both, wisdom is requisite to *direct*, and resolution to *act*. They are to stand for the franchises, and to uphold the good customs of the City to their power; and therefore to have pub-
C like

like spirits in their publike places, making their own private estates, in a more then ordinary manner tributary to the publike state of the Corporation.

As for the Stewards and Chamberlaines of this City, they are the City-Receiver, but such as usually pay away more then they receive: They are the *City-Pursbearers*, whose burthens are most heavy when the common purse is most light. As therefore they are to be diligent in collecting, so they are to be provident in disbursing the publike monies. They are the *City-Treasurers*, intrusted with the Corporation-Seal, Charters and Evidences, together with many utensils belonging to the Corporation; and therefore to take care that they may be rightly used and safely kept. They are the *City Surveyors*, who by their observation and care are to prevent ruines, and to repair decayes. And at last, of all their service they are to give a fair accompt, which may endure a just survey.

There is to be in all these Officers, as well as the *Maïor*, loyalty to their Sovereign, and fidelity to the City, with respect to the Acts of Common councell; they are all to be *Auxiliaries* in the Government, for the common benefit and credit of the Corporation: for which purpose the *Sheriffs* and *Stewards* are specially obliged, to afford the *Maïor* their due observance and attendance.

The representation of these Characters of our City Officers, I hope will have such impression upon the Gentlemen elect, that their practises will be somewhat suivable, and the rather, seeing they are to be fastened upon them with the sacred tye of an oath. And I wish such good service

as *M. Maior* and the rest of the old Officers have done in their severall places, by their conformity thereunto, may be so imprinted in your memories, that your due respects may be afforded them according to their merits. Particulars I need not expresse, being so well known, otherwise I might begin at *M. Maiors* house, and tell you of his hospitality; and thence go to the Churches and tell you of his devotion, and how he had a chief hand in the inviting and calling to us of a worthy Minister, to supply the room of the Bishop, Dean and Chapter in the Colledge; thence I might lead you to the *Tolsey* and *Bosball*, and tell you of his watchings, justice and equity: thence I might walk to the *key* and *Overs bridge*, and tell you of his extraordinary care and industry. And of the rest I might tell you many things praiseworthy, but I forbear. And for them all in generall, I present much thanks unto them all, in the name of the *Corporation*. And now that I may no longer exercise your patience, I come to publish the Names of the new elected Officers, which are as followeth——

These are the Gentlemen that are chosen to bear the publike Offices of the *Corporation* for the year next following, let them have your helping hands, that their burthens may be the easier born. And before the Gentlemen are sworn, I shall make bold to present my information unto them against two dangerous malignants, that are not to be tolerated in any Parliament Garrison; These are *Impicty* and *iniquity*; with my humble suit unto them, that for the honour of God, their own honour, and the safety of this City, they will according to their Covenant, (as

much as in them lies) discountenance them, and endeavour their remeovall from amongst us, by a reall Reformation.

IV. *Laurentio Singleton Arm' Majore.*

Octob. 5^o.
1646^o.

Gentlemen, The change of Officers is the occasion of this solemn meeting: And it is no marvell that I tell you of a *change*; for experience doth not only teach that men are mortal, but also that their conditions (whil't they live) are mutable, and so are all *sublunary* things wherewithall men have to do: If proof hereof were requisite, I need not go further then *Gloucester* for an Induction of particulars, for this place hath been the subject of many *changes*; and that in severall respects, both in the times of our forefathers, and in this present age. There hath been a *change* in the name of this place; by the *Britains* it was called *Caer Glouc*, the fair Town; by the *Romans* it was called *Clevum*, and here *Amonine* placed his Colonie, which was called *Colonia Clevum*, to be as a yoke upon the necks of the *Silures*, who inhabited betwixt *Severne* and *Wye*. The *Saxons* called it *Gleaucester*, and we *Glocester* or *Gloucester*. And as it hath been *multinominis*, having had such *changes* in the Appellation; so it hath been *multiformis*. It hath had many changes in buildings; for *Cambden* saith, that it was *Fortuito igne quater pene absumpta*; and some change hath been since these troubles, by the burning of the *suburbs*, so that it is as a garment without *skirts*, which we were willing to part withall, least our enemies should

The sub-
urbs were
destroyed
to preserve
the City.

should sit upon them. And now in stead of the old suburbs without this City (where there are *ruinarum vestigia*) there is a new street building within the City. But my principall meaning is, in respect of the several forms of Government; for this hath been a very ancient Borough: For in the Charter of King John, it is said, *Secundum King John. Antiquam legem Burgi, quam habuerunt tempore Antecessorum nostrorum.* In which Charter it is appointed that the Common-Councel of the Burrough should choose two Burgeses, and present them to the chief-Justice at Westminster, for the preposiure and government of the Town; and four Burgeses to keep the pleas of the Crown; and to see that the other two justè & legitime tractent, tam pauperes quàm divites. From a Bailiff Town it was changed to a Maior Town by R. 3. R. 3. who to the hundred of Gloucester made an addition of the two hundreds adjacent, which are called the In-shire, viz. the hundreds of Dudston, and Kings Barton. Afterwards it was made a City by H. 8. And now it is governed by a Maior and H. 8. eleven Aldermen Justices of the peace.

To omit the changes in respect of priviledges and Ensigns of Honour, there have been divers changes in the habits and manners of men inhabiting within this place; for *tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur.* There have been also divers changes in respect of Trade; for heretofore there was a Guild Merchant and a Mint; and K. John granted unto them to be free from Toll, and other immunities; which Trade afterwards decayed. But of late it hath been somewhat revived by some Gent' who deserve commendation; and I wish some others would joyn with them in promoting

of the *Merchandizing Trade*; which is the most likely means to make this a flourishing *City*. The trade of *Clothing* is also at a low Ebbe; I wish that that might be set forward, or some other manufacture for keeping of the poor at work. And as there have been *changes* in matters Civil, so there have been also in matters Ecclesiasticall. Here was an Abbey; but H.8. (that *matheus monasteriorum*) dissolved the same; and made this a Bishops See, with a Dean and Chapter, of six Prebendaries, and indowed them with revenues, formerly belonging to the said Monastery. Since which time there have been eleven Bishops; yet it is said that there were Bishops here in ancient time, and that the Bishop of this place was called *Episcopus Cluvienfis*; but after the Saxons prevailed, it was under the Bishoprick of *Litchfield*, and after that of *Warrick*. And now instead of Episcopacy (which seems to lye in the dust) a Presbytery is expected; and *Preachers* in stead of *Readers*, and a *spiritual* in stead of a *formal* and pompous service. And therefore (as I said before) it is no marvell that I tell you of *changes*. Norwithstanding these changes, this *City* hath not had such *changes* as some other places have had, which have been forced by *hostile power*; whereas this remains a *Maiden City*. And that it had not such a change, this place hath been the occasion of a great change in the affairs of this Kingdom. And as in the battell fought near *Tewsbury*, there was as it were a period put to the disputes of the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, for in that battell many of the Lancastrians were cut off; and there amongst others Prince *Edmond* the sonne of *Henry* the sixth being apprehended was

was slain, so that that side was not able to stand up against *E. 4.* as the Chronicles declare : so the standing out of this place in the late siege, made it the *verticall point* in this civill warre, for from that time the enemies more and more declined ; insomuch, as it pleased that reverend Judge Sergeant *Wilde*, in his late Charge, sitting upon the Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* here, to stile us of this place, *The conservators of the Parliament of England*, which was an higher expression then our modesty would have suffered us to have used of our selves. And we account that a part of our happinesse, that as no hurt was intended to our King, so no hurt came to him. And now considering all these things, we should endeavour that there may be a *change* in our lives ; and the rather, sithence there is so great a *change* in this place by reason of *sicknesses*, which are as Gods physick for the soul ; and if we do not amend thereby I fear our case is desperate. Let us then shew our respect to the *Magistrates*, who are Gods Vicegerents in matters temporall, and to the *Ministers* who are Christs Embassadors in things spirituall ; and to carry our selves in such manner of conversation, enjoying the Sunshine of the Gospel, that we may deserve to be called *Probi homines de Glouc.* which was a Title given to the Burgesses of this place in the dark times of *Popery*, as appears by divers Charters.

And now give me leave to change my Speech, and by an *Apostrophe* to addresse my self to the Officers of the year past ; and I shall crave of them leave to change my former course of particular and personal commendations ; for although I might speak of many *prudentiall Acts and Actions*,

ons, for the honour and profit of this City, yet I had rather their own actions might be the Orators of their praises; for by speaking somewhat perhaps I might add to their *applause*, but nothing to their *worth*: for many things I might speak well of them, and yet perhaps I might *male audire* for so speaking; for when I have heretofore thought I had kept within the bounds of *modestly*, I have scarce escaped the censure of *flattery*. And therefore in these times of Reformation I desire to reform this, and in stead of speaking to the Commendation of the old Officers, I purpose to speak by way of Exhortation to the new: the Names of them are as followeth————

Now you *Gentlemen* that are elected by the 24 *Electors* to these Offices, although you are to enter upon your Offices in the night, yet they are no obscure Offices, but Offices of Trust and Credit: your Predecessors these late years have had (as it were) a continuall *night* of troubles; yet the stars of the greater and lesler magnitude, I mean the Lords and Commons in Parliament, did afford them some light of comfort; and now I hope the *day of deliverance* doth dawn upon us. In that night Light was sown for the righteous, yea light did arise to them out of that darknesse, and I hope that we shall ere long see *Jerusalem* in good condition, and *peace upon Israel*. And now give me leave to take occasion from the season of the *night*, to give you a word of Advice, which is to keep a good *watch*; a good *watch* over your selves, and a good *watch* over others; you are to watch over your selves, yea against your selves, for you will finde *self* a very great hinderance to you in the good performance of your *duties*. And therefore

therefore beware first of *self-love*, that you be not carried away with *by-respects*, for your *aims* ought to be as publick as your *places*, and you are to consider, that you enter upon an *Office*, not a *Benefice*, and therefore should endeavour to perform your service with *credit*, rather then for *profit*; and as you heard from the Minister to day, there may be a peny sometimes as *ill saved*, as there may be a peny *ill got*. And you are also to beware of *self-will*, knowing that good Laws and Customs are to be your Rule for your carriage, and not your will: *sic volo sic jubes* is a very ill Motto for a Magistrate, when he shall give no other reason of his actions but his *will*: And therefore as *Luther* said to *Melancthon* in another case, I say to you, *Luctare contra teipsum maximum hostem*, strive against thy self the greatest enemy to thy self. You are also to keep a *watch* over your *passions*, especially of *fear* and *anger*; I do mean that base fear and pusillanimity of heart, contrary to the noblenesse of minde that should be in a Magistrate, for the fear of God ought to be cherished in you; but you are not to fear the face of man in doing what is right; but to go on with Christian courage. *Jacob* in blessing of his sonnes, said of *Judah*, *Judah is a young Lion*, Gen. 49. 9. יהודה אריה נער And afterwards it is said לא יסור שבט מיהודה The Scepter shall not depart from *Judah*; so that men in Authority should be *viri strenui*, otherwise their Authority will be neglected, and the edge of their resolution taken off from executing of Justice. It was the Symbole of *Ferdinandus* Emperour of Rome, *Fiat Justitia aut pereat mundus*; and I say, *Fiat Justitia ne pereat Civitas*, Let Justice be done least the City

City perish. I do not say that every thing should be stretched up to *summum jus*, and punished in severity: There may^e in some cases be used an *emolumentum*, a moderation and mitigation in such cases as are left to discretion. As for the passion of anger, that is the *drunkenness* of the soul, and disposeth a man of his reasonable soul, as it were, and hinders a man in knowing and discerning truth. Therefore a *watch* is to be kept upon that passion. Holy anger (which is called *zeal* against evil) is commendable, but to give way to our own passions; and by colour of the Execution of Justice, to execute *spleen* and *malice* is abominable; therefore we should use anger *ut milite, non ut imperatore*, as *Seneca* said, As a Souldier, not as a Commander. Also you are to *watch* over your generall conversation, knowing that as you are set above others, so you are more conspicuous and obvious to others, and they will keep a *watch* upon your actions: And it is said, *Magistratus virum indicat*, men in Authority do discover themselves what they are. And as you are to watch over your selves, so you are to *watch* over others and for others; you are to take heed of friends, least they prove enemies. Justice is said to be blinde, not as if it were blinded by reason of ignorance, or of gifts, but because it may not *respect* persons, though it doth *discern* the cause. And you are to *watch* for the good of others souls and bodies; for their souls in maintenance of *Preachers*, and suppressing those houses that are Nurseries of vice; and endeavouring that the people keep a good *decorum* in observation of the *Sabbath* and *Fasting daies*, so as to yield outward conformity at least; that so it may be said of you

in your kinde and degree, αὐτὶ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑμῶν
 ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, *They watch for our souls.* And
 also for the bodies of others; for the security and
 health of their persons, to keep the *City* safe and
 clean, and to look to the Provisions, to keep a
watch over the Market, and to endeavour to re-
 form abuses therein, and to look to the *assises* of
Bread for the good of the poor. You are also to
 look to your Priviledges, Rights and Liberties, to
 maintain and preserve them. I must confesse that
 since these sad distractions and troubles,
 whilest our peace hath been interrupted, our li-
 berties have in some respects been suspended and
 intrenched upon by such as fled hither for refuge:
 but I hope the time will come wherein it may be
 said *cedant arma togæ*, and then it will be other-
 wise. It is granted in the Charter of H. 6. to this
 place, That if any native should live a year and a
 day here, &c. without claim of the Lord, he was
 to be free from his Lord; but I would not have
 such as are forrainers thereupon to conclude, by
 some abode here, that they have a title to the free-
 dom of this City, and freely to work at any Trade
 here; but to take notice that they are to pro-
 vide for themselves elswhere. To conclude, if
 you *Gentlemen* shall be pleased to keep this *watch*,
 and improve your parts and opportunities for the
 common good, then the *Burgesses* according to
 the said Charter of King *John*, shall live and hold
 their priviledges, *benè, & in pace, liberè, quietè &*
honorificè; and you will answer our expectation,
 and perform your severall oathes, which now you
 are to take.

V. Fassero Clutterbooke Arm' Majore

Octob. 4^o.
1647.

Gentlemen and friends who attend these solemnities. Although I need not tell you what the occasion of this meeting is; yet I shall with your good leave take an occasion from the same to speak somewhat unto you of such anniversary Elections, and then acquaint you with the names of the persons elected and chosen to bear Office amongst you for this year next following, according to our Charter; which being done, I desire with the favour of the new elected Officers to addressse my self unto them in a few words of advice, and so to conclude. In all which I purpose to be short and yet plain. And first being to speak upon the Theam of anniversary or yearly Elections, I hold it not improper to propole some particulars to your considerations of Elections in generall.

1. That there are Powers and Authorities exercised in Civil societies, that are not by Election; some *Jure naturali* by the Law of nature, as the power of parents over their children, and some *Jure gentium*, as the powers of the Conquerors over the conquered: Here grew *Potestas Dominorum in servos*, the power of Lords over their slaves or villains, which was much known in the times of our Ancestors, and our Law-books have many cases concerning them; whence I collect that the beginning and cause of villenage or servitude to be this, That there was a great measure of community of things till Noah's flood, but afterwards, by the multiplication of people,

people, came in a stricter property, and holding of things more in severalty. Then people not being contented with their own, there arose battels, and thereupon a constitution of Nations was made, that those that were taken in battell should be saved alive, but yet be bondmen for ever to those that took them, to do with them and theirs as they pleased. And therefore some Etymologists hold they were called *Servi*, *potius à Servando quam serviendo*. Now in regard of the tyranny and cruelty of Parents and Lords in the exercising of these powers and Authorities, there have been positive Laws and Constitutions made in severall States for bounds and limitations of them.

2. That in Powers and Authorities that are *Jure civili vel Positivo*, there Elections have place. Of the antiquity and necessity of Government you heard from the Minister in a learned Discourse this morning; now I shall adde, That originally persons came to govern by Election, for although at first when there were but a few families in the world, then the Patriarchs and Heads of families governed without Election; yet afterwards when the world began to be peopled, then families grew into Societies, and made one great family as it were; and thereupon by the common agreement of the people One was set up, *Penes quem imperium foret*, that should have dominion over the rest for the better keeping of peace and order amongst themselves, and the preservation of them from violence of strangers, who was to act in such manner as was agreed upon. And I make no doubt but the *Monarchies* that now are hereditary, and go by succession, were

M. Nelme.

were at first either by Conquest or Election, or both, the people assenting after, which was in nature of an Election: And the peoples chusing of one to bear rule, and investing him with power and authority, must needs have an influence upon all the subordinate and derivative powers and authorities which he is necessitated to make and use as helps in government, as *Moses* who is called King in *Jeshurun*, or among the righteous, by the advice of *Jethro* his father in law, did: And the Minister gave a good reason for it, Because where one is to govern a great people the burthen is too heavy for one mans shoulders, whereof ~~some~~ *some* in this Kingdom are by the Common law, or the general customs of the Realm, some by particular customs of places, some by Statute law, some by Commissions, and some by charter.

Elections are manifold and various, both in respect of the Electors and the manner of Elections; as sometimes Elections by Wards, by Parishes or Hundreds; answerable to which there were amongst the Romans their Assemblies called *Conitia tributa*, *curiata* and *Centuriata*; also sometimes by Counties: And in respect of the manner, sometimes by Votes, sometimes by holding up of hands, sometimes by Lots; and that several waies, as by white Beans, as of old among the Athenians in chusing of their Senators; and sometimes by gilded Balls, as now is used amongst the Venetians in Election of young men to the participation of the City rights and liberties: But where the Elections are by Charter, such as our Election is, as well the Electors as the manner and formalities of the Election are prescribed also. In some places according to their

Rom. Antiq.

Mr Rous
in his Antiquolog.
Antic.

their Charters the *Mayors*, *Bailiffs* or other Officers of *Corporations* are choſen by the Commiſſion or *Burgeſſes*, and in others by a certain number of them: And ſo it is with us, for our Charter having appointed the *Common counsell* to be the *Representative body* of the *Burgeſſes*, hath alſo appointed *Twenty four* of the *Common counsell* only to be the Electors. And let none of the *Common Burgeſſes* repine thereat; for in moſt places where the Elections have been left to all the *Burgeſſes* by the Charter, yet by experience it hath been found, that in thoſe places, the ſmall Elections have been and are by a *ſelectd number*, See the and ſuch Elections have been held good in Law, *Caſe of* and to be warranted by their Charter upon a *Corporations Co. 4.* preſumption that there was at firſt (by the common conſent of the people) ſome ordinance and *Rcp. 78.* conſtitution made amongſt them for it, to avoid popular conſuſion. And as our Charter appoints the Electors to be of the *Common counsell*, ſo that the elected ſhall be of them too, as being deemed the beſt ſort of Citizens, as the *Magiſtratus Patricii* in Rome were choſen out of the better ſort of *Romans*.

4. Elections are to bear Offices either Judiciall or Miniſteriall or both in different reſpects; of which nature all ours are, that are now to be undertaken upon this Election, excepting only *Maſter Maier*. And yet (in a ſenſe alſo) he may be ſaid Miniſteriall, and that not only in regard he is ſubordinate to higher Powers (as the Scripture ſpeaks of Kings and ſuch as are ſet in Authority under them) but alſo in reſpect of the people over whom and for whom he is to govern, in which regard the Apoſtle calls the *Magiſtrate*,

Θεὸς δαμιὺς ἡμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν, *The Minister of God for good.*

These things concerning Elections in generall being premised, now I come to speak something of what I promised concerning elections *annuall* or *renewed* year by year: touching which you must know, that our *Common Councell* is not chosen yearly as the Senators of *Athens* of old were, or those of *London* lately. And now I speak of *London*, how can I name it without an honourable thought or Christian sympathie? when I consider their labour of love towards us, and their singular piece of service in the relieving of this City, by raising the siege that was against it? and how can you do lesse, then with me to render a thankfull acknowledgement, and afford them hearty well-wishes of peace and prosperity? I could expatiate my self in the praises of that *mother City*, but I should make too great a digression, and therefore I return to the point of *Annually Elections*: Our Common-Councell-men are to continue for life, unles removed for some just cause; but the *Officers* now chosen, are but to continue in their places for one whole year, and who knows whether they shall so long: for you know that one of the Sheriffs this year *M. Henry Ellis* by name, had his Writ of discharge and died in his Shrievalty: but being sensible thereof, and not contented with his expressions of his love to this City before, and out of his zeal to advance merchandizing therein after his decease, he made some provisions for the same in his Will, out of his adventure at sea, thereby leaving a good example to others, and a memoriall to posterity of his publike spirit and good affection to this place.

Now

Now for the ground thereof, I conceive this annuall election was instituted but of politicall prudence, both in favour to the *Officers* themselves, that the burthen of care, expence and trouble incident to the execution of those Offices, might not lie so long upon them as to oppresse them, or endamage their estates; and in respect to the people that are to live under this government; that those that bear Office having so short a time, may be the more active for their good, and lesse inclineable to break the rules of *Justice* and *Equity*.

Now although there is an yeerly election of Officers amongst us, yet it is not at their election to govern or execute their Offices by an *arbitrary* power, for there are known rules of proceeding and acting, partly by *traditionall customs*, which are *unwritten Laws*, as sometimes the *Lacedemonians* were governed; and partly by Laws, which are a *written custome* as the *Athenians*; yet there is not amongst us as it was amongst the *Athenians*, an *ἐπιτερονομία νόμων*, an yearly consideration and change of Laws, wherein the people had a great suffrage; for although (*pro re nata*) as occasion requiries, our Ordinances of Common-Councell and by-Laws of the *Leet* may be altered, and others made *pro bono regimine & gubernatione* (they are the words of the Charter) the good government of the City; yet in matters *Judiciall*, where we are to follow the example of the superior Courts (be they *Criminall* or *Civill*) there is one rule and set form of proceeding and judgement; and therefore all such Causes as those *Criminall* and publike Causes in *Rome*, may be called *questiones perpetuae*.

By this time I think you desire to know who are the Officers for the year next ensuing ; and according to promise I will acquaint you therewith: the Names of them are these —

Now *Gentlemen*, you that are chosen to these Offices, give me leave to tell you, that the wishes and hopes of the *Electors* and of those present and absent, are and will be, That your carriage during the continuance in your Offices may commend their choice. And if please you to have patience to hear a word of advice from me to further the same, it shall be dispatcht, in presenting to you one *single* (and yet in my judgement singular) rule for your observance, that is, In all things to use a mediocrity, and keep the golden mean, which is a thing as beautifull in the eye of a moralist, as a symmetry and due proportion of members in a naturall body ; whereunto *Keckerman* compares it. I would not be mistaken as if I intended hereby to commend unto you a detestable *neutrality*, or a *lukewarm Laodicean* temper of spirit, after all your *Covenants* and *Engagements* to and with God and man, instead of a spirit of zeal, and a conscionable and vigorous performance of your duties ; I mean no such thing : but my meaning is, that you should *inter utrumq;* *tenere*, keep your selves from running upon extremes, to steer the vessel in the midst of the channell, that it dash not against *Scilla*, nor be ingolfted in *Charybdis* ; wishing you may have knowledge and prudence therein to be your guides, and the glory of God and the publike good your ends. And that I may more explain my self by descending to some particulars :

1. In Religion, that you keep a mean ; not that

I would have you regardlesse thereof, to be like *Gallio* in the *Acts*, to care for none of those things, whether people came to the Congregation or no, or unresolved men in the points of the object and manner of your Worship, as the *Israelites* in the time of *Elijah*, who were said to halt betwixt two opinions; but yet to keep a mediocrity in your opinions and practices, considering that what *Aristotle* said of Vertue, that it was *habitus in mediocritate positus*, that may be also said of Truth. Truth and Vertue are betwixt errors and vices on both hands, and therefore in Scripture we read of deviations and turnings aside to the right hand and the left, yet although they are in the middle, they are distanced from the extremes by a *Geometricall proportion*, having more cognation and affinity with the one then the other, as the instance may be given in *liberality*, whereunto *prodigality* comes neerer then *covetousnesse*. Therefore in respect of your selves, you are to keep the *midway* betwixt *irreligion* and *superstition*; not to be prophane, or as *Horace* saith, *parci deorum cultores*, sparing and niggardly worshippers of the deity, nor yet such as the Apostle *Paul* called the *Athenians* in the *Acts*, *δεισιδαιμονεστους*; *Act. 17. 22* we read it too superstitious, but *Beza* translates it *quasi religiosiores* too religious: You are not to place your religion in what you ought not; to make more sins then God hath made, nor lesse, but *ὀρθοποδῆν* to go with a right foot according *Gal. 2. 14.* to the truth of the Gospel.

And in respect of others; that as you are not to patronize or countenance error or heresie in any, yet on the other side you are not to be of the temper of spirit towards all dissenters, as those

Disciples were of, who would have πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, fire come down from Heaven upon the *Samaritans*, but to use a moderation as lovers of truth and peace. And (if I may be so bold as to explain my self) I would say, that as you are earnestly to contend for, and constantly to hold fast unto the *truths of Christ*, so you are diligently to seek after, and carefully to conserve the *peace of Christians*. Perhaps, in the time wherein, and place where you shall bear Office, you may meet with some dissenting brethren of the same religion, then if you shall finde the difference to be in points that are disputable, and as yet determinable, or that the truths concerned are of the lesser magnitude and inferior nature, so that the errors you shall discover be not in the fundamentals or touch not upon the vitals of our religion, and they are not maintained with that pertinacy, as the consequence thereof may be any notable disorder or disturbance of the civill peace; then if I may declare my opinion (and I think it differs not from that of learned M. *Cotson*,) you are to be as studious of unity as zealous of uniformity.

2. In matters of Justice the Minister told you well of your duty in execution of Justice, and the blessings you and the people might expect thereby. Now I shall say that you may so do, you are to keep the mean, that in the administration of Justice both in the matters of the Crown, and civill causes betwixt party and party, there may be indifferency and equality, that in the punishment of offenders there may not in the balance of Justice be *underweight* made through fear or favour, nor yet *overweight* made through ignorance

rance or malice ; that a mean be kept berwixt foolish pity and severity : the Wise man (that Kingly Preacher) said, *ne esto justus nimium* ; for as *peccata non sunt equalia*, so there are many circumstances that tend to the extenuation or aggravation of offences, which not being considered, you will fall under that rule, *summum jus summa injuria*, for, streyning all cases up to the extremity of Law, may in some cases be little lesse then injury ; an Emblem of this moderation you have in the Romane *fasces* and *securis*, an axe wrapped in *bürchen* rodde, which was carried by the *Lictors* (in nature of our Serjeants) first before the Kings of Rome, and afterwards before the *Consuls* : and M. Godwyn in his *Romane Antiquities* gives this reason, to intimate the different punishment that belonged to the notorious, and petty malefactors ; and another reason he gives too, that the anger of the Magistrate might be somewhat abated, whilest the rods were *unbinding*. And for an example you have *Solon* the just, the famous Lawgiver of the *Athenians*, who took away and abolisht *ρομους Δράκοντες*, the cruell Laws of one *Draco*, who punished all offences great and small alike.

And as touching the deciding of Civil Controversies, that the scales of Justice may not turn with the touch of by-respects, but onely with the just merits of the cause. Now that you may have so just a ballance and rightly make use of it,

1. You are to look upon the Laws with a judicious eye ; for as you heard this morning, to follow your own will and not the will of the Law is not justice ; you are therefore to look upon the Law, not only the letter, for *Qui habet*

in litera hæret in cortice, but on the sense of the Laws, and the ground of the making of them.

2. To look directly on the cause, and not obliquely on the person, not to have a *ορεσμο-λεψία*, a respect of persons in judgement.

3. Not to look on things and actions *in abstracto*, nakedly and barely, but in *concreto*, clothed with accidents and circumstances.

3. As touching the collecting, receiving in and laying out of the profits and revenues belonging to this *Corporation*, that there be a moderation used, not to be too slack or remisse in *Receipts*, or too profuse in *disbursements* to the prejudice of the *Chamber*, nor yet too quick or sharp upon the *Tenants* in gathering in, or too niggardly or sparing in laying out to the *disbounour* of the *City*. And there is a thing called *Hospitality*, if there were any need I should say thus much, that (respect being had to the credit of your places) it is not be mean, and yet a mean is to be kept therein, not only in respect of your estates, but also the present condition of the times, as you were seasonably admonished lately by a reverend Divine in publique.

4. That in your generall carriage and conversation a mean be kept, that you be not of a haughty or harsh spirit, for though you are lifted up above others in *place*, yet you are not to be in *minde*: A Magistrate is to have *spiritum magnum*, a great spirit, but not *spiritum elatum*, a proud spirit, but to be meek, humble and affable, which will adorn Magistrates as well as others, and such vertues are not *ἀνδρεία*, but well may consist with Christian courage, yet I would not have you neglect the respect due to your places out of pusil-

pusillanimity in vindication of your selves, or an affectation of popularity how to preserve your respect, you were well taught by the Minister. And you are to know, that demeanure is best in a Governour, when it is so tempered as it attracts both love and fear from the inferiours.

These things I have proposed unto you in generall, desiring you to make application in your severall places, *reddendo singula singulis.*

And now I think it time to wind up all, and it shall be in the expression of the Poet,

Sit modus in rebus; medio tutissimus ibis.

I speak it to each of you, to keep the mean is the safest way, and not only so, but also comfortable and profitable for others, if you shall so demean your selves with a wise moderation. As therefore amongst the Ancients (in some places before the knowledge of writing and printing) it was a custome to sing the Laws that they might not be forgotten, so the people may have cause to sing that you have not forgotten the Laws and laudable examples of your predecessors, and the *good customs* of this *City*: to the observance whereof each of you is to be obliged by a solemn oath, which is ready to be now administered unto you.

VI. Johanne Madocke Arm' Majore.

Honoured Friends, Burgeses and others, Your Obed.^{2o}.
 presence here I take to be an argument rather of your good affection then of your earnest
 expectation

expectation of some new thing; for these solemnities are not so much to be accounted new as renewed, seeing our *Charters* and our *Customs* are the *directory* of our proceedings. I shall therefore give you some account according to the usuall manner of what votes passed in the election Chamber, touching Officers for this present year next following, whereof some are persons newly chosen into old Offices, and others with a little remove continued in their Offices by a new election; yet thereby neither are enabled to action without a consecration to their Offices by oathes, which remaineth to be done in this assembly. But before the administration of the oathes, or the nomination of the persons that shall take them, give me leave to present unto you my serious thoughts of that subject, by acquainting you what I take an Oath to be, and the kindes thereof, with the severall forms and ends of the taking of oaths, which I shall endeavour to do briefly and succinctly as the time admonisheth me; and then to reflect the same by a word of application, according to the present occasion, hoping and desiring that what I shall say, may be both reasonable and acceptable.

Quid sit.

An Oath is a calling of God, or something instead of God, to witnesse for the confirmation of the truth of what is spoken. I define it thus, that I may comprehend all kindes of Oathes, unlawfull and lawfull.

An Oath may be said unlawfull either in respect of the object, that is, that by which a man swears, by false gods, or by the creatures, as by the light, or any thing we eat and drink, or any other thing besides God, which is to make an idoll of them,

them, and the oath no better then an idolatrous oath; for the grounds of the originall institution and practise of Oaths (as I take it) were the secrecy of mans heart and Gods omniscience: It is his sole prerogative to be *xapdroyvātes*, the knower and searcher of the heart and conscience and of what lies hid there: Thoughts (which are said to be free in respect of the censure of humane Laws, because unknown) he taketh notice of, so that we cannot without impiety give this glory to a creature.

2. In respect of the subject matter, when it is against the rule of Justice, as the Oath *Corban*, condemned by our blessed Saviour, whereby (according to a Pharisaicall tradition) children held themselves exempt from yeelding due honour to their parents: The Anathema or oath of execration which *Pauls* enemies took, that they would not eat nor drink till they had killed him, such oaths are better broken then kept, because the observing of them increaseth the sin of man, and consequently the wrath of God. A^h. 23.
21.

3. Or in respect of the occasion, when it is sleight or unnecessary, it is an unlawfull oath, although the party doth swear by the true God, for it makes his reverend Name vile and contemptible, by divesting it of the dignity due unto it; and is a taking of it in vain, and a plain profanation of his holy Name; and therefore in the Statute against swearing it is called prophane swearing; for I conceive the motive of an oath as well as the matter, should be *res gravis* weighty & of moment: it should be taken, *necessitatis causa non libidinis aut voluptatis*, as *M. Calvin* speaks, not for or at pleasure, but upon some necessity imposed,

posed, which some take to be implied in the Hebrew word *שָׁוַע* which is in the passive voice and signifieth rather to be sworn then to swear; as *Furatus est* among some Latin Authors.

Setting these unlawfull Oathes aside as detestable abuses of divine Majesty, I come to speak of lawfull Oathes, which is more direct to my purpose; for some Oaths I hold lawfull, contrary to their opinion, who because vain Oathes are condemned, therefore by a misconstruction will allow of none at all.

Quotuplex As for lawfull Oathes, they are either *private* or *publike*, *spontaneous* or *constrained*: But that which we call a legall Oath, or an Oath in a Law sense, is when it is administred by or taken in the presence of one or more thereunto lawfully authorized.

1. Either for deciding of a controversie, as *assertory Oaths* taken by Witnesses.

2. Or for the performance of a trust or service, as *promissory Oathes* taken by Officers or Ministers.

3. Or for the discovery of the opinions and affections of people, as the *probatorie Oaths* of Supremacy, appointed by the Statute 1^o Eliz. and of Allegiance appointed by a Statute 3^o Jacob for the better discovery of Popish recusants.

4. Or for to oblige and engage persons to, or retain them in loyalty, faithfulness and trustiness towards others, as the *submissary Oathes* of ligeance taken by subjects to the King, which hath been used in *Leets* or *Lawdaies*, and the Oath of *fealty* by *tenants* to their *Lords*.

Forms.

As touching the forms of taking of Oaths in respect of gestures and words, I find them very different.

different. As putting the hand under the thigh^s
as the Patriarch *Abraham* made his servant *Elie-* *Gen.24. 2.*
ger to do, that he should not take a wife for his
son from amongst the *Canaanites*. And as the Pa- *Gen.47.*
riarch *Jacob* caused his son *Joseph* to do, that he *29.*
should not be buried in *Egypt*; which I take to
be rather a token of subjection, then to have any
mysticall signification of Circumcision or the
promised seed, because I finde it only used from
inferiours to superiours; and it seems the sons
of *David*, and chief of *Israell* used the same gesture
in swearing fidelity to King *Solomon*, when he
sate on the Throne, for in the original it is that
they gave *יָרְיָתָם שְׁלֹמֹה* *Their hand under* *1 Chro.29.*
Solomon, rendred by our English Translators, *24.*
Submitted themselves to Solomon.

1. There was another gesture of standing be-
fore the Altar in the Tabernacle, and afterwards
in the Temple.

3. There was also a gesture used of *lifting up the*
hand, as *Abraham* said to the King of *Sodom*, that *Gen.14.22*
he had lifted up his hand to the Lord, the most
high God, &c. that he would not take anything
of his, which gesture was used in the taking of
our Solemn League and Covenant; that Cove-
nant, whose matter, at the time of the first taking
of it, was not more cause of joy to the well-affec-
ted, then the manner of observance since, may be
cause of grief to us.

But the most ordinary way with us is putting
of the hand upon the Book, and afterwards the
kissing of it, which is (as I conceive) as much as
Amen or *So be it*. Which I take to be the reason
wherefore it is called a *Corporall Oath*, in respect
of the *bodily ceremonies* used in the taking of it.

As

As for the words of Invocation or Petition, which is used in Swearing (and in respect especially it is termed a part of Divine worship) the forms are different: omitting those used in other Countries, I will speak of those used here both in the times of the Popish and Protestant Princes. Heretofore when Popery prevailed here, the usual forms were, *As God you help, or So help you God and all Saints, or So God me help, or So God help me and his Saints*; according to the Latines, *Ita Deus mihi faciat*, in the Comcedian, or *So help me God and his holy Judgement*, as in the oath of abjuration: or *So help them God and all Saints, and by the holy Evangelist*, as in the oath of aliens Artificers. Yet in the old oath of Ligeance, the form is, *So help you Almighty God*. But since the Reformation the usual form hath been, *So help you God, or So help me God*; somewhat like to the Jewish form, *Ita Deus mihi faciat*: Or as in the oath of Supremacy, *So help me God, and by the Contents of this Book*: or as sometimes, *So help me God and the Contents of this Book*: By which word [Contents] I am of opinion is to be meant Christ the summe and center of the holy Scriptures; and therefore it is said, to swear upon the holy Evangelists, because they wrote the History of Christ. The end of taking of Oathes, as the Apostle saith, is, that it should be ἀντιλογία πρὸς τὴν ἑξελίσσιν *An end of contradiction*, gain saying or controversie; by silencing doubts and disputes, and working a confidence, acquiescence, and a firm settlement in such for whose satisfaction they are taken. And the reason why they serve for such confirmation and assurance, is this, Because in every oath there is an Imprecation,

End.

on, Execration or conditional curse, which is a
part of the form, and essential to an Oath: and
is sometimes expressed, as in the *Leviticall* Law in
the case of Jealousie prescribed to be taken by the
wife, which was therefore called the *Oath of Cur-*
ing. And as the *Roman* Heralds, upon a Truce
or a League, holding a stone in their hands, say-
ing, *Peream ut hic lapis e manibus decider*; which
swearing was called *Furare per Jovem lapidem*: or
else implied or understood; as when we say, *So*
help me God, is as if it should be said, *Let me be*
hurt if it be otherwise. For in an Oath God is not
only called as a *witnes*, or an assertor of truth, but
as a *Judge* and avenger of falshood; now it is not
to be presumed that any one that hath any sense
of Divine justice, will be so desperately wicked
as wilfully to draw upon himself the smart of
Divine vengeance, which is imprecated in an
Oath. These things being premised I draw these
conclusions thereupon.

1. That in this Land there is a great and ge-
neral contempt and contumely cast upon the most
high God, Maker and possessor of heaven and
earth, and upon his Holy and Reverend Name,
by rash and common swearing, swearing by the
creatures and forswearing; the serious consid-
eration whereof might bring some damp upon our
joy, seeing it ministers matter of humiliation
and lamentation, and indeed better were it for us
to mourn for that and such like provocations of
Divine wrath in a way of humiliation, then for
the Land it self to mourn in desolation, as the
Prophet speaks.

2. That an Oath is to be taken with all re-
verence and fear, and to be observed with all di-
ligence

ligence and care; for the sincerity of intention is to be seconded and discovered by the reality of actions and endeavours.

I shall hold you no longer in expectation what the persons are that are chosen to be Officers and now to be sworn, but name them to you the four and twenty Electors have made choice of —

And now Gentlemen, you that are to be sworn, give leave to propose to your considerations a few things more concerning the taking and keeping of your Oathes. I need not tell you that an Oath is to be taken in that sense as he to whom a man swears doth understand; or that it is as well an evil, and in the opinion of some, I think not far from the truth; That it is a greater evil, *Furare per Deum verum fallaciter quam per Deum falsum veraciter*: because that I have no cause to suspect any of you to be leavened with the Jesuiticall doctrine of equivocation or mental reservation; but let me intreat you to consider that you are not only to take *Furamentum* a common Oath, but *Fusjurandum* a solemn Oath, yet a *Sacramentum civile*, an Oath whereby ye are as it were hallowed and dedicated to the service of the Commonwealth and this Corporation. And therefore my request unto you is, that you will manifest *publique spirits* in your *publique places* and not to suffer the common good to be overborn by private favour or fear; nor yet neglected for private interests. And secondly that you would remember what came from a Learned tongue this morning, as helps unto you in the execution of your Offices, that is to say, that you be courageous and faithfull, countenancers

Mr. Ken-
rick.

good people, and promoters of good things, and to make repetition thereof in your practises.

I must professe unto you that I have been of opinion, that it were a thing to be wished that such generall Oathes for such as are to be in offices or services were not so common and frequent as they are, for 1. It is held that the breach thereof is not punishable in a Judicall Court, and the wilfull refusall or carelesse neglect may be punished as well without Oaths as with them. 2. That man that maketh conscience of an Oath, I think will make conscience of his duty without it, being led thereunto more *Virtutis* *more* then *Formidine pena*. And lastly, there is oftentimes much difficulty in the exact performance of all particulars included within the generall words of some Oaths; so that many times the persons that take them are more ensnared thereby, then the persons for whose sake they are taken are secured. But seeing *Sic volent usus*, the custom of the Realm, and this Corporation prevails to have it so, I shall not discourage you therein, but will give you a word of encouragement, which is this, that you shall finde in your oaths, in some part of them, *According to your wit and power*, which I do conceive is to be understood as having a reference to all the particulars of your Oaths; so that if there shall be in you *εὐθυμία καὶ σπένδω*, *Gracian* terms, I hope your practise will translate them into *English*, and in the mean time give me leave to do it, If there be in you a cheerfull, ready and willing minde, joynd with a speciall care and honest endeavour to know, and to perform your duties in your severall places, you will have comfort in your

See Co. 11.

Rep. 98. in

James

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Virtutis

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your consciences, when you shall leave your places, and may expect that God will blesse you, and good people blesse you (as you heard this morning) and we may expect that you will be a blessing to this City.

VII. *Henrico Cugley Arm' Majore.*

● Feb. 1^o.
1649^o.

Honoured Citizens, and others here present, I beleeve you expect to hear something from me, because *custom* doth challenge it, and therefore I purpose to say something unto you: Yet I know not whether I shall answer all your expectations, for though I desire not to displease any, yet by reason of the difference in *heads* and *hearts*, I mean, understandings and affections, in these distinguishing and dividing times; I cannot assure my self to please all; I shall therefore crave both your patience, and your fair construction.

We are come to the end of our *City year*, which is by *Charter*, I cannot say to the end of our *grievances*, I would I could say so, but the condition of this time will not afford it, neither have we any *Charter* whereby we may claim the privilege of such an exemption.

The change of the year I beleeve troubles none, but the reflecting upon the changes in the year, I finde perplexeth the thoughts of many, and that not only of the vulgar, who gaze only upon the outside of things, and of whose passions their senses instead of their reason, have the commanding

manding power; but also of men in reputation for wisdom, who being as doubtfull of the impulsive causes, as they are fearfull of the events of the late *grand Transactions* and present *administrations of Government*, and applying ordinary rules to extraordinary cases, are either unsatisfied in what hath been done by others, and unresolved in themselves what to do, or otherwise very peremptory in their sentence. I must confesse the quarrels and bickerings betwixt *Prerogative* and *Liberty* have been very great in our forefathers daies, and ended for the most part in an *accommodation*; and in particular the great difference betwixt the King and his Nobles, in King H. 3. time, touching those things, was fairly closed up in *Magna Charta*, the great Charter of *Englands Liberties* confirmed by so many Parliaments afterwards. The like was desired by most in the late great difference in this Nation, but many say and do beleeeve it, that the *Salus Populi* the peoples safety would not suffer it; howsoever all must acknowledge that *Divine providence* so ordered it, that as the disputes were unparalleled, so the deciding of the controversie should rather make then follow a president. There have been much amazement and distemper in the spirits of the people thereupon, whereat I marvell not, because they are the proper effects of such great and sudden mutations. But to abate the one and allay the other, let us consult with our *English Chronicles*, they will tell us, not only of *changes of Governours*, but also of changes in the government of this Nation, and those accompanied with no small distractions and distresses of the people. There we may reade of a

British Pentarchy, a Government by Five; a *Saxon Heptarchy*, a Government by Seven, as well as an *English Monarchy*, a Government by One. There we may reade how Dominion in this Nation did run in severall Lines amongst the *Britains*, the *Romans*, the *Saxons*, the *Danes*, and the *Normans*, &c. and how they had their *periods* at severall times in former ages; and whether the *period of Monarchy* it self be now come, time will evidence. In the mean time, I do conceive that submission to the will of God, and subjection to the present power of man in lawfull things, do not deserve so foul a character as some do give it. I hope I shall not be accounted to *temporize*, because I declare my opinion, especially seeing I have such reason to ground the same upon, that is able as I think to bear the weight of such an assertion. For if any credit be to be given to our *English Histories*, it is apparent that power and power alone, without *legall title* hath been many times the *supporter* of the *Royall arms*; yet in those times I find in our Law-books That *obedience* to the powers *De facto*, was approved of, and *disobedience* was in those times accounted a *crime* not a *vertue*. And if I am not mistaken, the *Histories* of those times do afford these conclusions, 1. That the love of the people was the *Princes best guard*: and 2. That the submission to the prevailing powers hath been the peoples best security. Thus much (and I hope not too much) I thought good to speak unto you touching the *State-affairs*, the new face whereof doth affright so many. And now I come to speak of our *City affairs*, and am to acquaint you with the change of your *Officers*; but as for the *Government*,

9 E. 4. f. 1.
Co. 3. part.
of Instit.
cap. 1. of
Treason.

ment, it is so far from being changed, that it is confirmed by Ordinance of Parliament for the union of the Churches of this City, with all our Franchises and Liberties, procured by the vigilant care and diligent endeavours of one of your Aldermen who doth serve for you in Parliament. Mr Purv.
But before I come to name unto you the new Officers elected for this next year, I have one humble suit to make unto you all, which being for your own good I hope will be granted; and that is, that you will be more acquainted with, and give a more free entertainment to *Unity*. I am in earnest, and therefore shall double my request, That you will be pleased to give a more free entertainment unto *Unity*. I desire to discourse something of that subject, that you may the better know my meaning.

Unity is a simple Theme, and so perhaps may I be accounted for proposing it, because I doubt many look upon it as a *forreigner*, but if I may have liberty of speech (which I crave) I hope I shall evidence to all, and perhaps perswade such, that it doth well deserve to have the *freedom* of this City: I must confesse, and I am sorry there is occasion so to do: That *Unity* is too great a *stranger* amongst us, I have considered what the reason thereof might be, and I do conceive it to be the pride, self-conceitednesse and envy that is amongst us, which causeth passions, and through the mists of those passions things are looked upon, and so misapprehended; thence ariseth jealousies, evil surmises, strong prejudices, strange misconstructions of intentions and actions, and hard, and uncharitable censures thereupon, and all to the hindrance of *Unity*.

By Ordinance dated
April 3.
1648.

We are all here in one place, but I may well doubt we are not all of one minde, that we are not here *ὁμοθυμαδόν* with one accord, for in our time that saying is verified, *Quot homines tot sententia, Quot sensus tot dissensus*: how many men so many mindes; yet it is likely there would be more unity if we would meet oftner in one place; I mean not under this roof, nor only in private Christian meetings, but chiefly in such places as commonly (though somewhat improperly) are called Churches. There was a *Union* made of our Churches in the year 1648. which was a worthy work and tending to *Unity*; but this present yeer there was a Lecture set up in one of them, and that tends further, yea, more to *Unity* of persons then the former: for although the *Ordinances of Parliament* may unite such Churches, yet it is the *Ordinances of Christ* that must chiefly unite hearts, but not unlesse his spirit joyn with them. There is in such *sacred Assemblies* held forth one *Common salvation* and one high-way unto it, mistake me not I do not say a *broad way* but a *High way*.

There is likewise held forth one *Common rule* to walk by. Too blame are they that either out of prophanenesse of heart contemn, or out of carelesnesse or a false opinion of perfection neglect such *Assemblies*, for there two words are much spoken of, and they are *faith* and *love*, both tend to *union*, the one of our hearts to God, and the other to one another, for *Unio voluntatum est dilectionis fructus*, *Unity* ariseth from love. It would also much conduce to *Unity*, for all to act in their own *sphere* and places, for they that shall do otherwise in a *Corporation*, if they may not be compared to a divided member, that is no waies usefull

full to the body ; yet surely they are as disjoyned limbs, whose motions are both painfull and uncomely, *subordination* is a thing that tends to *unity*, subordination of inferiour *persons* to superiour persons, of inferiour *powers* to superiour powers. As subordination in the *faculties* of men, so the subordination of men in societies makes the *Har-* By
mony. You heard this morning very well of the *M.Nelme*. benefits of *Magistracy* and the great inconveniencies of *Anarchy* or the *Levelling way*; which should it prevail I fear we should have cause to use the expression of *Tacitus* writing of the loose-living *Armenians* in the 2 of his *Annals*, that they lived, *Magis sine Domino quam in libertate*, rather without a Lord then in liberty ; And that we should see more divisions rather then encrease of *Unity*. We are a *City*, and so as Citizens should agree ; We are a *Garrison*, and so as citizens and souldiers we should agree with one another : for which purpose I shall propose to you some means for the same, which are A friendly association each with other, a fair interpretation of each other, and a discreet condescension each to other, *Cedere de proprio*, To part with somewhat of propriety for *unity*, to bear with and to forbear each other in love, which *moderation* tends much to *unity*, for in my small observation as a middle temper of spirit betwixt a calm and a tempestuous spirit, is most serviceable to discover truth, so it is also most usefull to attain peace ; and *peace* you know is the bond of *unity*. If what I have said be not sufficient to perswade unto *unity*, give me leave to cite you an authority, and that is of the *Kingly Prophet David* who saith, *Ecce quam bonum & quam jucundum*, behold how good and pleasant a thing

it is, for brethren to dwell together in *unity*, It is a *pleasant* thing, yea, it is a *glorious* thing to be in *unity*. What a glory it is for a City to be not only compacted in *houses*, but for Citizens to be conjoynd in *hearts*? We are also a garrison, we have two swords, they are *diversi* but they should not be *adversis*, what a glory will it be for such a garrison that the civill and military swords are carried so uprightly and discreetly, that they clash not one against another; Yet so to conjoyn as to be ready to fall upon the head of *Impiety* and *Iniquity* wheresoever they finde it: What a praise-worthy thing will it be for that to be spoken of you as you are a City, which *Salust* in his *Cateline War* writeth of the old Romans, *Cives cum civibus de virtute certabant*, There was no other contention amongst those Citizens but in the *Æmulation* of vertue: What a praise-worthy thing will it be for that to be spoken of you as you are a garrison, that there is no contention betwixt Citizens and souldiers, but who should go beyond each other in the offices of love: yea it is not only matter of praise, but will be a means of profit for people to live in *Unity*. You will finde the old Proverb verified, *Concordia res crescunt*.

It will advance your trading in time of peace, and in time of trouble it will be a support of your spirits, yea, tend to the safety of your persons and estates. *Vis unita fortior*, you that were here in the siege of this City can write a *Probatum est* upon this, that *Unity* tends to *Security*, when a numerous and potent enemy came before you, came against you, and round about you, yet were enforced to depart from you, because God was with you; and as a means of your safety stirred up
your

your hearts to stand one with another upon your guard. By that action you got encrease of honour, the honour of *fidelity* was added to your honour of *Antiquity*; but I must tell you, that thereby you contracted also proportionable hatred and envy from the adverse party, and so much that I beleeve not a few persons in *Gloucester*, but *Gloucester* it self is the object of their malice. Then it will be safer for you to conjoyn for your preservation, then to comply with that party, for if a reconciled enemy hath been held so dangerous, what shall we think of an enemy *enraged*, and upon professed terms of revenge. I hope therefore that fatall simplicity will not fall upon this City to rely upon our enemies, more then our friends. We should then unite as Citizens, as Citizens engaged, as Citizens delivered, as Citizens devoted to ruine by the adverse party, in case they should prevail. You may perhaps be willing to demand of me what unity I mean: To that I say, that Unity which hath *Verum & Bonum* joyned with it, such a unity as is accompanied with truth and honesty, Whereas I have spoken to you concerning the *goodnesse of unity*, I hope you do conceive I mean no other *unity* but an *unity* in goodnesse, otherwise it may be rather called a *conspiracy* then an *unity*: some of you perhaps may object that it is a very difficult thing for us to agree, there are such differences in these times in *Spiritualibus & Temporalibus*, touching matters of Religion and the Common-wealth; yet may not we *convenire in aliquo tertio*? Have you not seen many lines run into one Center? Have you not seen sometimes diverse waies all leading to one place? May not many sounds in musick being

well modelled make a good consort? Are not there in naturall bodies *Elements*, not only of different but of contrary qualities, yet being well tempered do agree *in uno composito*? I must confesse that there are too many differences in judgement and practise in these times, yet where they tend not to destroy *fundamentals* in religion or to crosse the main ends of the *Covenant*, why may not we agree as Christians, as Englishmen, as Covenanters for all that? and why not we joyn together in our endeavours to preserve and promote the Protestant Religion, and the English Liberty which were the main grounds of the Engagement of the honest party?

Some of you also perhaps may object, that we have many burthens, burthens breed discontents, and discontents divisions; I must confesse we have many burthens, I wish they were fewer: But let me expostulate a little with such, Will juggling each with other ease us? or will it be wisdom for us to go those waies as may endanger the breaking our *necks* to save our *shoulders*? Complaints are frequent in our mouths, but I wish there were lesse cause of them, and that we had more patience. We should not joyn in murmurings for our burthens, much lesse in repining at mercies, or envying the instruments from whose hands we receive them.

Have we no mercies to put into the other scales of the balance? what are our religion, our laws, our liberty, our property, our health, fruitfull seasons, and victories obtained by our friends (which puts us in hope of the reducing of *Ireland* and settling of *England*) are not these mercies? should not we therefore rather joyn in praises

praises to the God of our mercies, and joyn in praier to him to continue them. And that he would give wisdom and right aims to all our Senators and Counsellors of State, valour and fidelity to our Seamen and Souldiers, and good successe to all their endeavours relating to our welfare? Having spoken thus much to you of unity, I come to give you the names of such as are elected to joyn as props in this government the year next folowing, which are as followeth. —

And now M. Maior and the rest that are *newly elected*, I shall make my humble addresse unto you in a word of advice, partly by way of *Appendix*, and partly by way of *Rehearsall* of some of the seasonable and wise advice, you had given By you this morning in another Assembly. You are M. Nelme. to execute severall offices, yet are to be as severall archers standing in severall places, yet aiming at one mark, and that as the *Common welfare* of this City. In order whereunto, you are not only to have your thoughts of keeping up the port and state of your City, maintaining of your privileges and liberties, or improving of your revenues, which things are very commendable. But also to be patrons of Religion, by using your best endeavours that the Sabbaths may be duly observed, the Ordinances of Christ frequented, and faithfull Ministers encouraged. Also it is expected that you take care that provisions may be made for the poor, provisions of work for the idle, and of relief for the needy. And this further motion I shall humbly make for these *Paupers*, that the late additions to their yearly maintenance so fresh in memory, may not blunt but sharpen the edge of your endeavours, to make further

further provisions for them : Also that you look to the disorders of Alehouses, whose number should rather be lessened then encreased. And that you look to the Assizes of bread and beer this dear time. You are also to be a refuge to the oppressed, a terrour to evil doers, and a security to all good people, in good causes, by what names or titles soever distinguished. And lastly to be a good example to all : what hath been done by your predecessors herein, I commend to you to be imitated, and what ought to have been done, I humbly propose it to you to be supplied. Now before you are to execute your offices, you are to take an Oath, a new Oath, such an Oath as hath never been taken in this place, prescribed by the State for the uniformity of the Nation ; and if you shall joyn in the taking thereof, you will give some testimony of your unity. I shall not paraphrase upon the Oath, but leave the matter thereof to your construction, as the Act whereby it is enjoyned leaves the form of the taking thereof to your election.

VIII. Jacobo Stephens Arm' Majore.

An. 1650

Honoured friends, Your solemn presence and attendance here, seems to demand of me an account of the votes upon the debates above in the Election Chamber, which I am provided to give you ; but before I tell you the persons, whom providence hath designed to bear Offices in this City this next year, I crave your favour
that

that I may take *Providence* for my *Thema*, and speak a little of that, of which in these our times so much is spoken.

Providence I take to be nothing else but the outgoings, and exercise of that infinite wisdom and almighty power, in and about the conservation, government and disposition of all creatures & their actions, which at first manifested it self in the creation of the world. Or more briefly thus: The execution *in time*, of what was decreed *before time*; so called from the infallible foreknowledge and immutable counsell of God. Now in advancing this *Providence* I must dethrone the heathens blind goddess *Fortune*, yet shall not allow of or establish the *Stoicall Destiny*; nevertheless I must acknowledge, that in respect of man and second causes, some *events* may be said casual or contingent, which in respect of God (who as the Philosopher saith, is *Ens Entium & Causa Causarum*,) are all necessary and brought to passe by the counsell of his own will: And also that God in the waies of his providence, doth ordinarily cut of his indulgence rather then necessity, use the concurrence of second causes; although he doth not so tie himself to them, as to act onely within the *sphere* of their *activity*, but sometimes acts *above* them, and sometimes *without* them, when he is pleased to work those works which the Greek call *μεγαλεια*, and the Hebrews נפלאות גדולות *great wonders*, to the amazement and astonishment of the sons of men.

This providence extendeth to all things and actions, great and small, good and bad. Good actions (as Divines speak) are by *divine operation*, and bad by *divine permission*, and both are as well governed

governed by the wisdom and power, as they are wrought *ωτοιμένη βουλή* by his determinate counsell. God hath an eye and hand in the wheels of all things ; yet the chief good is not nor cannot be the author of any evill, although he can bring good out of it ; for though in the evill actions of men, the *naturall motion* is from the holy God, yet the *morall transgression* is from sinfull man ; who though in his sinfull actings, to the fulfilling of his own will, he doth (though not intentionally) fulfill the *secret* will of God ; yet he is not thereby excused of his offence against the will of God *revealed* in the holy Scriptures, the rule of mans life ; but is thereby made liable to *Justice* as a transgressor of a *divine Law*. By this *providence* all that *checkerwork* is wrought in all humane affairs, wherein the divine power is said (as it were) to sport it self, *Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus*. Hence it is that poor mortals have so many sunshine and cloudy, good and bad daies, and so much *April weather*, I mean variety of prosperous and adverse passages of *providence*, which do so change the condition of poor creatures in this *sublunary* world, in matters relating to their souls, bodies, estates and names, that like the influence of the *Moon* upon the *waters*, doth cause the ebbing and flowing of their *comforts* in this present life. By this *providence* Nations have had their encreasing, flourishing and decaying in power and glory : Hence it hath been, that some Nations have had so large a dominion so long as their *day* lasted ; that they have shone in glory upon the earth like the *Sun* in the firmament, darkning the *glory* of all their neighbours, till their *Sun* did set, and the black
curtains

curtains of the *night* overspread them. I will give you an instance hereof in the three famous *Monarchies* of the world, the *Assyrian*, *Persian* and *Græcian*, that *tript* up one anothers heels, and *trampled* one upon another, and became successively the *mistresses* of the world, but have all lost their *commands*. And as for the *Romane Empire* that now is, it is not as it was; for the *Imperiall Cedar* hath been sensible of so long and continued an *Autumne*, that it hath lost not only some of his *leaves* but *branches* also.

By this *providence* have been the constitutions, alterations and translations of *Governments*: for though man be the subject and instrument in all changes, yet the ultimate resolution must be into *Gods will*, as the prime and supreme cause of the beginnings, continuance and periods of government in the nations of the world; wherein it pleaseth the *God* of heaven and earth many times (to use the words of the *Magnificat*) to throw down *an high* the mighty from their *seats*, and to exalt them of *Luk. 1.52.*
low degree.

By this *providence* Nations are either upon termes of *amity* or *hostility* one with another; upon termes of *unity* or *division*, *conjunction* or *opposition* within themselves; hence it is that they have the *Halcionian daies* of peace, or the *stormy daies* of war, yea sometimes of intestine wars, called *Civil*, although they are most *uncivil* and dreadful wars,
—— *Nullus habitura Triumphos*, as *Lucan* speaketh, wherein the *victories* do scarce afford *Triumphs*, such warres have been lattely in the bowels of our Nation, like a *mighty wind*, that hath so shaken the *foundations* of Government, that the *English Monarchy* its self is fallen down
and

and broken into pieces ; and it hath raised so great a *dust*, that some of our *starres* have quite lost their *light*, and others are overshadowed with *clouds of dishonour*, that did sometime shine brightly in this our *firmament*.

By this *providence* it was, that during the late warres, and the later contests abroad, so many *sonnes of Mercury* and *Mars* (pardon my expression) I mean so many wise *politicians* and great *souldiers* of the Anti-Parliamentary party, have so often not found their *heads* nor *hands*, and they and their party have been so often constrained to find their *heels*.

By this *providence* it was that so many of their *secret ploss* have been discovered, and so many grand and hopefull *designes* have miscarried, that either they have not come to the birth, or been blasted from heaven upon the first putting in execution ; so that *iniquity* hath been often forced to cover her face and stop her mouth, whilest the wrath and fury of man hath opened our lips in *praises of God*.

By this *providence* it was that this City during the late warres, became so eminent for self preservation and promoting the publique interest ; and (as I take it) we are yet indebted to heaven for that mercy ; and I conceive it will be no lesse vertue for us to *keep* our honour, then it was to *get* it.

By this *providence* this last year our *Counsels* at home have been so prosperous, and the *actions* of our Armies abroad so victoriously successfull, even to envy and wonder : That thereby we have some further hopes of the lengthening of our tranquility, and security of our enjoyments, and at

the

the length in some proceſſe of time, of the leſſe-
ning of our burthens.

To conclude, By this providence it is that we
are, and what we are ; and that the affairs of this
and our neighbour States are as they are. But
if any ſhall demand of me Why it is thus, I muſt
confeſſe it a hard queſtion, but yet ſhall give this
answer thereunto. Though the book of ordinary
providences is like the volume of nature, written in
ſo large and common a Character, and with ſuch
plainneſſe of phraſe that the things contained in
them are obvious to vulgar capacities ; yet the
book of providences extraordinary, is both for
the letter and the ſtile ſo ſtrange and obſcure,
that it doth oftentimes puzzle the ſharpeſt eyes
and moſt refined underſtandings, that they can
hardly pick out the meaning of them ; yea ſome
of the leaves thereof, which contain Arcana 'im-
perii the unſearchable ſecrets in the government
of providence, are wholly cloſed up, and not to be
opened till the day of the revelation of all things ;
ſo that no man can finde out the work that God
makes perfectly, or to uſe the phraſe of the
Royall Preacher, From the beginning to the end,
מראש ועד סוף And as for ſome works of
providence, *Nec intellectu noſtro penetrare, nec pro
arbitrio noſtro immutare poſſimus*, we can no more
underſtand then alter them : Yet notwithstanding
this great difficulty to demonſtrate all provi-
dences by all the cauſes thereof. I may ſay of
the works of providence as the Kingly Prophet ſaid
of the works of nature, *There is no ſpeech nor lan-
guage where their voice is not heard*, and in ſome
meaſure underſtood. It is regularly true that in
the ſchool of providence, Succesſes do not in and
of

of themselves, without the Word of God, teach us positively and necessarily, the goodnesse or badnesse of persons or things, so as certainly to conclude love or hatred from them; yet in solemn appeals to heaven in doubtfull cases, not determinable by the Word, *events* have been heretofore held to speak in the language of a *Divine sentence* for humane satisfaction. And it is an agreed case, That *Gods rod and staff*, comforts and crosses, have their *voices*, and do reade us generall lectures of the *creatures vanity*, *Gods All-sufficiency*; and something also that tends to *faith in God* and *repentance from dead works*, and happy are they that can learn such lessons from *providence*. Furthermore, as to all the passages of *ordinary providence* they do bespeak our *acknowledgement* of God, as being wrought by his hand; but the passages of *extraordinary providence* being wrought by his strong hand, and outstretched arm, do bespeak our *admiration*. And as to all passages of *providence*, the Divine Word doth command silence to all carnall reasonings about the reasons and ends of Gods proceedings, and doth give a *check* to all impatient expostulations, *οὐ τίς ἐστι ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ Θεῷ*, *Who art thou that disputest against God?* Whereas man should quiet his spirit before him, under all his dispensations; for although perhaps the carrying on of his *designs* in the world may crosse some of our *interests*, we ought to put our hand upon our *mouths* because he hath done it. And although the works of Gods *providence* may upon their first appearance seem to us like to some of the first *productions* of art and nature, rude, grosse and ill favoured; yet Solomon that oracle

of wisdom, said of every thing God makes, It is
 יפה בעתו fair or beautifull in colour and pro-
 portion in his time or season. A memorable
 example of calmnesse of spirit that King of Spain
 gave when he heard of the disastrous miscarriage
 of his great otherwise called *Invincible Armado*,
That he sent his Ships to fight against England, but
not against the Deity of heaven. And if you will
 have Scripture examples, take good old *Ely*, when
 the rod of God was shaken over him; and pa-
 tient *Job* when he was under the lash; *It is the*
Lord, saith the one; and *Blessed be his Name*,
 saith the other.

And now having spoken thus much of provi-
 dence in generall, I come to speak of a particu-
 lar passage of providence in the election of our new
 Officers, for whom I have reserved a few words,
 least having spoken of providence I my self should
 be accounted very improvident in spending all the
 stock of my allotted time in generals. Now
 what Solomon saith of Lots I may say of Votes,
 מִדְּוָה כָּל-מִשְׁפָּחָה The whole judgement or
 disposition is from the Lord.

The names of the Officers elected are —
 And now Gentlemen elected to these several
 Offices in our City Government, I shall more par-
 ticularly, although more briefly, apply my self to
 you. I shall humbly propose unto you providence
 as worthy of your most serious consideration.
 And I shall desire you to stand in *Fanus* posture,
 with a face towards the old year, and another to-
 wards the new, that you may the better observe and
 serve the Government of providence. If you take
 a view of the passages of providence in this year

The new
Talscy.

last past, you will finde, that there have been usual performances of *religious exercises* without restraint and disturbances; some further encouragements to *vertue*, and discountenancing of *vice*, by the putting in execution of some good *new Laws* made by the *Supream power* residing in *Parliament*, that there have been some further *provisions* made for the encrease of the *Revenues* of the *Chamber*, and the maintenance of the poor in the *Hospitals* by the purchase of *Fee-farm Rents*, and some better accommodation for the keeping of the *Talscy Court* by a stately structure. That there hath been a *friendly compliance* betwixt the *Citizens* and *souldiers*, I wish the same may continue: That for the generall, things have been in a very *peaceable* condition, and the bodies of the inhabitants, for the most part in a *bealthy* constitution; And that the honour and reputation of your *City* hath been upheld and maintained. And the means that have been serviceable to *providence* herein, have been the pious and just disposition, the vigilant and faithfull care, the industrious and active indeavours, and the generous and prudent deportment of those worthy instruments, that having been intrusted for you, have accordingly endeavoured to promote the common welfare of this *City*. All which being duely weighed, as they may challenge from the *Citizens* in generall *gratulation*, so they will afford unto you in speciall, that are to succeed in *Office*, matter of *instruction*. And now for the year that is to come, wherein you are to act your severall parts: It is beyond my reach to prophecie of future events; neither do I think you should be so solicitous

ciuous about the *successes*, which belongs to God,
as studious and indutrious to discharge the se-
verall *duties* which belong to you; this is com-
monly attended with a blessing; for it is an ex-
perimentall truth, that *To do well*, is the ordi-
nary rode way *to have well*: But then the *pace* you
are to keep is *festinare lente*, to act upon delibe-
ration; and for your *guide*, that you may not
misle the way, I shall commend that morall pre-
cept which *Alexander Severus* (though a Pagan)
liked so well, as to make it his Motto; *Quod tibi
hoc alteri*, Do as you would be done unto; and
so doing, it will be your *wisdom* to eye God in
the waies of his *providence*, and to take such due
notice of his seeming *smiles* and *frowns*, in good
and bad *successes*, that you may gain some ad-
vantage thereby. I shall also recommend unto
you the text this morning, *Honorantes, honorabo*,
and do desire your endeavours to put in practise
those worthy instructions of the *Preacher*, which
I shall thus *epitomize*; That you should im-
prove your power and parts for the honour of
God, That so honouring him by way of *reflexi-
on* (as he was pleased to term it) he may ho-
nour you by way of *retalliation*, and as you now
have the honour of *approbation* upon the entring
into your Offices, you may have the honour of
commendation when you shall leave them; and
also maintain the honour of your City, the *Civil
Government* whereof is now to be committed to
you, and the well managing thereof is expected
from you; for assurance hereof, we should be con-
tented to take your bare words, but custome and
the Charter do require your oaths, which now
are to be administred unto you.

1 Sam. 2.

30.

M. Fox.

IX. *Antonio Edwards Arm' Majore.*

An^o 1651^o **H**ONoured and beloved friends here assembled, Whom in respect of your several qualities and degrees, I may not unfitly term the *summe* and *abridgement* of this renowned City.

Your solemn posture here doth seem to invite me, to make some Prologue or Preface to what is now to be acted in this *Theater*. And therefore I shall take the boldnesse so to do in a brief Discourse, and I hope not unsutable to the present occasion.

Time, which is held in the Schools to be *Quantitas fluens*, not a permanent but a flowing quantity, may be said to have a kinde of a circular motion, like to the courses of the *Sun* and *Moon* that measure it. A ring is a fit emblem for the year, which by a revolution endeth where it did begin; so doth our City year, which having had his several seasons, like so many *Colons*, or members in a sentence, is now in a good season come to a *Period*. This day is the *Tropic* of our year, wherein our chiefest City Officers, together with the burdens incident thereunto, are turned over from them that have born them, unto some other persons, who are chosen in their rooms to undergo them.

The *soul* of power and authority which did *animate* and *assuate* our chief Officers in managing our City Government this last year, is ready to depart from them, they being *in extremis*, and by a voluntary *emission* and facile *transmigration* to passe into the Gentlemen newly elected, who

who I hope will not only succeed them in their places, but also in their endeavours of *Reformation*, the advancement of the *common welfare* of this City, and maintenance of the *publique peace* of this Commonwealth; wherein I may truly say, and I hope without offence, that amongst others *Mr Maior* hath this last year, been so much exemplary, that he hath deserved to be put in the *Catalogue* of those that are ranked in the *Superlative degree*. I shall acquaint you with their names, and then having delivered to you some short observations upon our late deliverance, and afterwards made my particular application in a word of advice to the Officers elected, I shall conclude, Their names are —

As for the Stewards or Chamberlains of our City (who much resemble the *Quaestores urbani* in old *Rome*) they are (by a kinde of necessity) to continue in their places, yet not without a new election: the experience of whose former actings hath begotten in us a confidence that their future administrations will be such as shall become good stewards in the year succeeding, which I wish they may finde more peaceable and lesse chargeable.

Amongst the many memorable passages of actual providence that have been conspicuous in our *Horizon* this last year, the most eminent and remarkable was the strange *march* and stranger *defeat* of the *Scots Army*, whereof I may say, as a Learned Doctor doth of many works of nature, that it requires our *wonder* as well as our *enquiry*: and Gods pleasure therein may silence all, although perhaps it will scarce satisfy some, This Northern Army like a black cloud in a calm and

Worcester.

fair season, suddenly appeared, and rouled apace
 hitherwards, threatening a storm to this place, if
 not timely prevented; but the good hand of the
 Lord of Hosts (in his gracious forbearance of
 us notwithstanding our ill deservings) kept back
 that formidable Army from us, whose design
 reached unto us, as we are credibly informed. By
 means whereof that dreadfull tempest fell upon
 our neighbour city: which out of a belief of the
 enemies strength, and fear to make resistance,
 through distrust of her own, and perhaps out of
 a desire in some to promote the enemies design
 (it were very uncharitable to think so of all)
 entertained if not welcomed those foreign
 guests, for which at last they paid so dear, and
 that in a severe impartiality, without distinction
 of persons differing in affection, or putting a
 difference betwixt an error and a crime. Whose
 sad condition how can we but commiserate? if
 we consider what force and violence, what ter-
 rours and affrightments: what losse and damage
 they sustained and we escaped? And who can
 take offence if I should declare the Citizens of
Worcester to be fit objects of your pity, yea, ma-
 ny of them of your liberality? which the Hea-
 thens themselves (guided only by the candle-
 light of nature) did exercise to very enemies
 subdued, and did account it no small part of their
 piety so to do. I might tell you how conquering
Cæsar used so much Civility in that kinde, that
 it was said of him *Odio civiliter usus*, he used his
 hatred civilly: but I need not go so far for an
 example, you have it in the present Victorious
 Generall, whose noblenesse of spirit hath been
 discovered, not only in gaining of conquests but
 also

*The Lord
 Generall
 Cromwell.*

also in his deliverance toward the conquered, so that he hath thereby gained a good report out of the mowths of enemies themselves. Let none of us therefore be so flinty breasted as to insult over the miserable in that poor City, and to shut up from them our bowels of compassion, which the Heathen Poet accounted to be so inhumane as to exceed belief,

Nec mihi credibile est quenquam insultare jacenti.

Yea rather should we raile their disconsolate, and dejected spirits (especially of such as are well affected by stretching out an officious hand in ministering to their necessities, then to adde affliction to the afflicted. I therefore commend their case to you, and wish that they may have cause to commend your *charity* to them. Some of the Officers of this Garrison (as I have heard, and to their praise be it spoken) have already in their pity and bounty to them led the *Van*, and I hope we shall not be unwilling to bring up the *Rear*. Let us consider that what befell them might have befallen us, whose preservation is to be ascribed not to merit but to mercy. Had their sad Tragedy been acted here, the change of your conditions would have changed your *habits*, from *scarlets* to *blacks*, and would have occasioned daies of *mourning* instead of feasting : and wo, and lamentation, in stead of the voice of joy and gladnesse. But hitherto the Lord hath holpen us, so that *Gloucester* is become another *Ebenezer*. It continueth *A City saved by the Lord, a Maiden City*, not hitherto ravished by any sons of violence, as the three sister Cities have been, whilest this *Worcester*, City hath been a City of refuge, and a port of Hereford, safety. Let me therefore send one winged Messenger

senger to Heaven, in this Virgin-Cities behalf
 (whose servant I am) O that the Lord would
 be pleased to say to *Gloucester* as sometimes he
 did to *Israel* by the mouth of his Prophet *Hosea*:
 Hof. 2. 20. *I will betroth thee unto me in faithfulness, and thou shalt*
know the Lord. I think I should not mistake if I
 said, that the late *danger* we were in was as well
 a *mercy* to us as our *deliverance*, though not so
 great; in regard there was thereby a fair oppor-
 tunity given to this City, and readily embraced,
 to vindicate and clear her self from some fowl
 aspersions which the hand of jealousy, if not of
 envy had cast upon her, to spot and stain her re-
 putation. The apprehension of danger wrought
 in us some fear, and the more because we had
 deserved a scourge for our unthankfulness for
 former mercies, and fear quickned us up to acti-
 on, in making preparations and provisions to
 give a repulse to the enemy, in case of an assault
 (knowing it would be too late to take up the
 buckler after the wound received) which was
 done with so cheerfull and unanimous industry
 and resolution (your chief Magistrate and other
 good Assistants of the Aldermen his Brethren,
 encouraging others by their own example) as
 hath I hope given a clear demonstration not on-
 ly of this Cities care of self-preservation, but al-
 so of fidelity to the Parliament, as may for the
 future *non-plus* and put to silence the tongues of
 whispering detractors. This action was perfor-
 med by Citizens and souldiers for their mutuall
 support and safety, yea, Citizens themselves tur-
 ned souldiers *hac vice*. Therefore upon this *triall*
 how can I but expect as well as wish a better un-
 derstanding, and a closer union betwixt the Ci-
 tizen

citizen and souldier, even that they may be con-
joyned in affection as they have been in action?
But though I hold our fears in this sense to be a
favour, yet I must acknowledge our *deliverance*
from the evils feared to be a farre greater fa-
vour.

This *deliverance* was at a greater distance then *Gloucester*
that in 1643. of the raising of the siege, and *siege laid*
by reason thereof the damage was not so great to *Aug. 10.*
our countrey, yet the benefit and advantage little *Thursday,*
lesse to our selves or to the State. This delive- *raised Sept,*
rance (as well as that) was in the harvest sea- *5. Tuesday.*
son, and in the same Moneth of *September,* were *An. 1643.*
the enemies cut down; which being so near in
time, and both of so grand concernment, had
not the Parliament appointed the day of this *sig-*
nall victory to be yearly observed, I should have
advised that this additionall mercy might by way
of an Appendix have been conjoyned unto the
former in our yearly commemoration, seeing the
enemies of the Parliament in both received a
fatall blow, and were disappointed of the *harvest*
of their hopes. And now not only the instru-
ments of our safety have better assurance of the
rewards of their faithfull service; but also the
well affected throughout the whole nation, put
upon a greater expectation that the *Iron age* will
shortly cease, and golden times take place; where-
in may be reaped with joy the fruit of all that
precious seed which for many years last past have
been sown upon the *publique faith* with tears and
drops of blood, in a further and more certain fru-
ition and enjoyment of a more pure and undefi-
led religion, together with a godly Magistracy
and Gospel-Ministry, which two grand Ordina-
nces

nances in a Christian state are for Ornament,
and for establishment, like to *Jachin* and *Boaz* the
two stately pillars of brasie set up in the porch of
1 Kin. 7. 21 *Solomons* magnificent Temple, and also in the
settlement of a profound and confident peace;
and in the administration of so universall and
impartiall justice, that the cause shall be every
where more looked upon then the person,

— *armisque potentius equum.*

Right become more powerfull then might; to-
gether with a more full and absolute freedome of
our persons, consciences, and estates, from *Tyran-*
nicall oppressions, the best tokens undoubtedly
of a true *Jubilee*, and the truest Characters of a
flourishing Common-wealth. And why may not
the promises that have been made by those that
are in power, serve to bottom our hopes, that so
right a use will be made of our admirable succes-
ses, as shall pave a ready way to the speedy ac-
complishment thereof; unlesse in judgement to
this Nation, for the ingratitude and disobedience
thereof some possessed with the spirit of *Da-*
vid in the Comedy, or of *Demas* or *Deotrophes* re-
corded in sacred writ, I mean, some turbulent,
or ambitious persons, either meditating their
own revenge more then their countries peace, or
minding the things of the world and their own
private wealth more then of God and the Com-
mon-wealth, or seeking the advancement of
themselves, their families, and friends, rather then
of Christs Kingdom and the publique good,
should by any open disturbances or close con-
trivances, throw in any blocks to obstruct the
same. And though it is dishonourable for us to
imagine that the *supream* powers will not con-
stantly

stantly aim and shoot at the right mark, after their so many professions and publique declarations made of their good intentions seconded with some beginnings of reformation: yet let us help them by our praiers to him that is higher then they; that they may be enabled so to improve their many victories, that we may not thereby become more safely miserable, but that our expectation of the enlargement of our privileges, and lessening of our burthens may in due time be fully answered: so that in future times we may comfortably reflect upon our enemies Autumn as being the spring time of our prosperity. Some do much doubt that this Commonwealth will come much short of the glory this Nation had whilst it was a Kingdom, because they suppose the great Luminary of knowledge will be eclipsed by the interposition of some that are all for changes, and to bring things to a levell, and who are so moon-blinde that they cannot see the worth of learning, but having themselves little or no acquaintance with it, are but small friends if not enemies unto it; but I am of another opinion, because our Noble Generall is *Chancellor* and *Mænas* of one of our chief Seminaries of Learning, and thereby is deeply engaged in the protection of the Schools; And I hope will be as famous for cherishing of *Arts*, as he is already for bearing of *Arms*. But I must not expatiate and walk further in this field, lest being so late I should forget my way home; and therefore leaving this foreign discourse I shall now confine my self to what concerns our Cities jurisdiction, and make my humble address to you *M. Maior elect*, and the rest of the

Chancellor of Oxford.

M. Nelme
 * The holy
 Scriptures.

the Gentlemen that are to bear office this next year, Gentlemen, you are to take care of the City-wealth, yet not to neglect the Commonwealth; and in order to the promoting of both, you are in your places to maintain the true Religion, and to walk in that excellent Robe which the Learned Preacher this day brought out of a rich ~~wardrobe~~, the robe of righteousness personall and politicall, habituall and practicall, which he presented to you with a divine charge, that you should put it on. It was that Robe wherewith Job that was a good man and a good Magistrate was cloathed withall. And I shall present unto you also another Robe that will be an Ensign of honour to you as well as the former, and that is ἐγκόσμιον τῆς ταπεινότητος the garment of humility: for humility in a high estate is a singular ornament; and the Apostle doth command you to put it on also, *Be ye cloathed with humility*. I desire also to present unto you something more that may be usefull for your eyes and hands, and that is that you are to be *observers* of the manners of the people, that are within the limits of your authority, that they may be kept in peace and good behaviour, and to be conservators of this City, together with the just liberties, priviledges, customs, and revenues thereof. This will be for your credit and comfort, and the benefit of such as shall live under your government, who shall (as you heard this day) thereby have occasion, to blesse God for your good performance of what you are now by Oath to undertake.

X. Willielmo

X. Willielmo Singleton Armig'
Majore.

Honoured Citizens,

VVE are come hither to change the Scene, and therefore I am to present other persons unto you, who are to act their parts in our City government in the year next following: for you all know that our elections are Annuall, the reason of that policy I take to be, lest by a longer continuance in Office, the *Officers* by reason of the incident charges and troubles thereof, should be overburthensome to the Officers, or the Officers by their manner of administration be overburdensome to you. This day our City year doth end, and another year begins; like to the lines in the *Athenian Tables*, wherein their Laws were written *Backward*, or *ordine retrogrado*, as Oxen plough, turning out, and presently turning in; here is no intermission, for the *terme* of our government admits of no *vacation*; therefore upon the exit of the old Officer, there is the *intrat* of the new; or rather upon the entrance of the *new* Officer, the *old* goeth out. Now give me leave as well to look *backward* upon the year last past, as to look *forward* towards the year that is to come, and to speak something of both; which you may please to take as my *New years gift* upon this our *New years day*.

This year hath been a year of great *Eclipses* of
the

the two great *Luminaries* of Heaven the Sun and Moon ; but they have not been so dark, nor yet their effects or consequences so *dismall* hitherto to us, as to make *annum tenebrosus* a dark year : for neither the *Parliament*, nor yet the *Pulpits*, neither the *Courts* nor *Corporations*, have been under such *Eclipses* as some feared, and others desired. I cannot say we have any assurance that they shall not be hereafter ; for as all things under the Sun are subject to *vanity*, so all things under the Moon are liable to *changes*. And as for the peace of this Commonwealth, that hath been continued, and as for *successes* abroad they have been obtained. When I said *peace*, I said much in one word, for where *peace* reignes like a *Queen*, she is attended with many other blessings as her *Ladies* of honour ; but I did not say, nor yet intend so much thereby, as the *Hebrews* do by their *Shalom*, which we interpret *peace*, for thereby they denote all prosperity and *felicity* ; And whereas I said *successes*, I would thereby hint out unto you, how the *English* valour by land and sea, hath been this last year crowned with *victory* : which although it may afford matter of *thanksgiving* and *rejoycing*, yet (in the opinion of some wise men) not without some *trembling*, if we consider how much we are at peace with *error* and *vice*, and how much we are at difference with our *neighbouring States*. For this year, the bond of *Amity*, so long continued betwixt the *English Oaks* and the *Low-countrie Willows* (which were held the surest confederates in regard of their reciprocall interests) is broken asunder, which hath occasioned some *storms* at sea, whilest we have had a *cabin* upon the land. From entreating of us in *Q. Eliz.* dayes, they came

felicity

came to *treating with us* in after times; and now they have proceeded to a higher degree even of *fighting against us*. This passage of providence, causeth sadnesse to sit upon the spirits of many, who fear what the event may be: At which as I do not marvell, seeing one Embleme whereby we were represented, was two Pitchers swimming together, with this Motto, *Si concutimur frangimur*, if we clasp we are broken; so I wish it may not so come to passe, but rather that it may produce a closer union betwixt us and the United Provinces; or if that may not be, that howsoever neither this Nation, nor yet the Protestant cause may be disadvantaged thereby.

Mr Howel
in his Vo-
call For-
rest.

Two of the concomitants or attendants of our *peace* I shall mention to you; and they are *plenty* and *health*: It hath been a year of *plenty* for the food of *man*, though in many places of some scarcity for the food of *beasts*. I must confesse it hath been a year of *drought*, but (through Gods mercy to us) it hath not been a year of *dearth*, because the staff of *bread* was not broken. It hath also been a year of much *health* to this *Countray*, but very eminently to this *City*; so that though our Physicians have increased, yet their practise hath not this last year, and I hope I shall not be blamed, that I say I am not sorry for it. I would I could speak as much of the *Wealth* of the *City* as I have of the *Health* of it; but I must acknowledge (and that with some sadnesse) that the *trade* of this *City* hath been this last year under some *eclipse*, and some of our Citizens have been obscured: what are the true causes thereof, I shall not take the boldnesse at this time to determine; but I will make so bold as to acquaint you

you with three severall opinions thereof, and leave you to be judges thereupon.

The first is, that many of the *Gentry* are much cooled in their affections to this City, because it hath so constantly adhered unto, and so faithfully acted for the Parliament: if this be true, there is the greater reason, that at length some recompence should be made for our great losses by fire, justeyned for the Parliaments sake.

The second is, that when this City had lesse security, then it had more trading, and that if the Garrison might be removed from it, the ancient trade would return unto it.

The third and *last* (though as I take it doth not carry with it the *least* reason) is this, That when this City had more *zeal* in Religion, then here was more *quicknesse* in Trade; and that if the *Churches* might be fuller at Gods market-times, then our *shops* at our market times would not be found so empty.

To this decay of trade upon the *Land*, I might adde the losses of divers of our Citizens goods by *water* by a sad disaster; both which do shew us the vanity of things *below*, and may instruct us to set our mindes more upon those things that are *above*.

Having made these short glosses upon the text of the last year, I come now to say something of the year next following.

I shall not speak by way of *prediction* to tell you what will come to passe, for who knoweth what is in the *womb* of time? or what will be the *births* of this next year? our Judicall *Astrologers* are bold undertakers this way, out of their pretended knowledge of the aspects, and influen-

ces of the *Caelestiall bodies*: but some others are of opinion, that as probable and rationall conjectures may be made by observing the *courses* of men, and considering the *state* of things upon the earth; which I shall not presume to do, but leave it to those *sons of wisdom*, who can better discern *effects* in their *causes* then my self: yet this I shall adventure to say, being warranted thereunto by the Kingly Preacher, the *Oracle of Wisdom*, - that there shall be no new thing but what hath been done already. For as eloquent Mr Fuller speaketh, 'This world affordeth no new accidents, but in the same sense wherein we call it a new Moon, *the Epistle before* which is the old one in another shape, yet no other then what it hath been formerly. *the Holy-Warre.* Instead of prophesying I desire to give you a word of advice. Let the *mercy* of God to us this last year, be accounted by us as *engagements* of our better serving of him, and of one and another in the Offices of *love* this next year. - Let the *Supream Authority* of this Nation (under whose *shadow* we are protected) have your *prayers* as well as your *purses*, that they sitting at the *helm* of this great Ship of the Commonwealth, wherein we are all embarked, may *steer* their course in the managing of their affairs, so piously and prudently, that it strike not upon the *sands*, or dash against the *rocks*, and so suffer shipwrack.

Let the good *service* done by the *old Officers* this last year for the Commonwealth, this City and your selves, advantage them somewhat in *reputation* amongst you, and let such as have done double *service* have double *honour*. And amongst them let Mr Maior that hath had the chiefest place in the *government*, sit in the uppermost
G- room,

room of your estimation. And as for the new elected Officers, let them finde your ready compliance, during the year next ensuing, in all the wayes of observance and assistance, as occasion shall require; whom that you may the better know I will acquaint you with their Names.-----

By
Mr Heane.

And now Mr Maior elect, and the rest that are chosen to bear office in this City this next year let me make my humble addresse unto you; you are chosen to offices of *trust*, and I hope you will be *trusty* Officers. You had a good lesson this morning for your good behaviour, and I think you are all bound to it; I shall make a short repetition of it; you must be *amurati* without blemish, and *amurati* without complaint. I shall make this further addition, you are entrusted with the honour and profit of this City: the *honour* thereof consists chiefly in the maintenance of true Religion and Justice, together with *hospitality* to Citizens and Strangers, which may be said in some sense *due*, although it should be done *freely*. The *profit* thereof consists in the maintenance of your *liberties* and *priviledges*, together with the well ordering of the *revenues* thereunto belonging.

Let me commend one thing further to you, I hope none will account it a matter of *superstition*, although perhaps some may a work of *supererogation*, and that is, that you would (together with others) joyn your shoulders to hold up the stately fabrick of the Colledge-Church (the great Ornament of this City) which some do say is now in danger of falling. Now although for the performance of your duties, we need no other assurance then your words, and could (out of our good opinion

opinion of you as the *Athenian* Judges did by *Xenocrates*, who gave testimony before them) cry out that you should not take your *oaths*; yet because it is otherwise appointed, I am to invite you thereunto; and I wish you may be as careful to observe them, having taken them, as I hope you are now willing to take them. And so I have done.

F I N I S.

Errata.

Page 12. line 18. for *Warwick*. read *Worcester*. page
30. line 13. for whereof some, read some *Offi-*
ces.

A CATALOGUE of the NAMES of the several
Officers in the several Years afore-mentioned.

Years.	Maiors of the City of Gloucester.	Coroners of the County of the City of Gloucester.	Bailiffs of the City, and Sheriffs of the County of the City of Gloucester.
1642 } 1643 }	Dennis Wise Alderman.	John Scriven Alderman.	Edw. Wagstaffe, James Wood.
1643 } 1644 }	Nich. Webb Alderman.	Dennis Wise Alderman.	James Stephens, Robert Tyther.
1644 } 1645 }	Luke Nourse Alderman.	Nicholas Webb Alderman.	Toby Jordan, John Edwards.
1645 } 1646 }	Laur. Singleton Alderman.	Luke Nourse Alderman.	Anthony Edwards Walter Lane.
1646 } 1647 }	Jasper Clutterbooke Alderm.	Laurence Singleton Alderman and afterwards John Madocke Alderman	Tho. Prichards, Henry Ellis, and afterwards Robert Paine.
1647 } 1648 }	John Madocke Alderman.	Jasper Clutterbooke Alderman.	Thomas Peirce, Thomas Lugg.
1648 } 1649 }	Henry Cugley Alderman.	Laurence Singleton Alderman.	William Clarke, Richard Taylor.
1649 } 1650 }	James Stephens Alderman.	Henry Cugley Alderman.	Robert Tyther, William Fowler.
1650 } 1651 }	Anthony Edwards Alderm.	James Stephens Alderman.	Henry Robins, Daniel Lysons.
1651 } 1652 }	William Singleton Alderm.	Anthony Edwards Alderman, and afterwards Tho. Hill Alderman.	John Parlewent, Thomas Watcomb.

Stewards or Chamberlains of the
City of Gloucester.

Brian Fenings,	}}	Thomas Witcomb,
John Purlcwent,		William Russell.

John Purlcwent,	}}	John Browne,
John Singleton,		William Bubb.

William Russell,	}}	William Bubb.
John Browne,		Robert Hill.

Thomas Cooke,	}}	Henry Knowles,
James Comelin,		Jeffery Beale.

Thomas Cooke,	}}	Henry Knowles,
James Comelin,		Jeffery Beale.

Nicholas Webb,	}}	William Scudamore,
Richard Massenger,		John Tomes.

Richard Massenger,	}}	Thomas Trippet,
William Scudamore,		John Madocke.

Thomas Trippet,	}}	John Madocke,
William Russell,		William Stapp.

Samuel Brewster,	}}	John Perks,
Thomas Tate,		Godfrey Ellis.

Samuel Brewster,	}}	John Perks,
Thomas Tate,		Godfrey Ellis.